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EDITORIAL

BIOGRAPHICAL AND THEOLOGICAL STUDIES OF INDIVIDUAL ANABAPTIST LEADERS are essential contributions to the construction of a thorough and reliable history of Anabaptism and a delineation of its theology. Recently substantial studies on outstanding Anabaptist leaders have appeared in the REVIEW—two South Germans, Marpeck and Denck, and one Dutch leader, Dirk Philips, while a third South German, Hans Hut, is soon to be treated. But the lesser leaders are also important. Among them is Ambrosius Spittelmayr, whose moving brief career and testimony are reported effectively in the current issue by Herbert C. Klassen. A career of only forty-six days as an Anabaptist apostle was vouchsafed to him, from baptism to the imprisonment from which he was released only by death. Seldom have the records so clearly revealed the emergence of an Anabaptist apostle and the complete structure and content of his teaching. How utterly committed was his discipleship, how vigorous his apostleship, and how fearless his courage. How radical was his conversion. How brief and rapid was his transit across the stage of history, but how bright and decisive. How inevitable the sequence seems at this distance: faith means discipleship, discipleship requires apostleship, apostleship brings martyrdom.

SOME OF THE EARLY WRITERS AGAINST THE ANABAPTISTS, BULLINGER, FOR instance, refer critically to the many different Anabaptist groups into which the movement was divided. Modern historians have been inclined to view the movement as basically one, though divided into regional or language groups, e.g., Swiss, South German, Lower Rhine, Dutch, with the Melchiorites and the Hutterites as the chief deviant groups. The truth lies probably somewhere between these two positions. With no overall organization or binding confession, and with a very rapid spread in the early years, together with almost immediate and severe persecution, it is small wonder that, in spite of a basically common position, a number of separate small groups developed. One of these, hitherto little noticed because of paucity of source material, the Philippite Brethren, is exhaustively treated in this issue by Robert Friedmann. The recent discovery by the author of a large number of letters of Peter Riedemann has added substantially to the sources and made a fuller report possible. The Philippites show no real deviation in principle from the Swiss Brethren and were soon absorbed into that group, or, in part, into the Hutterites.

THE SECOND PART OF WILLIAM KEENEY'S ESSAY ON DIRK PHILIPS TREATS DIRK'S writings without repeating the details of introduction and content which have been adequately given in the critical edition by Pijper. Keeney gives a good overview and general characterization, adding information on two unpublished writings. Though not the equal in popularity of his greater colleague Menno Simons, Philips is generally considered the better and more satisfying writer. The treatment here given places him in the very center of Dutch Anabaptist witness.

THE FINAL ARTICLE IN THIS ISSUE, "CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF Culture," by Carl H. F. Henry, is a forthright challenge and a resolute summons to evangelical Christians to maintain and apply the Christian faith at the highest levels of our culture. Retreat from this assignment, withdrawal from the battle, isolationist indifference to the intellectual world where ultimate decisions of vital import are made, is impossible except at major peril to the church and the Christian faith, i.e., ultimately to the lordship of Christ. Not every one can enter into this field; both faith and intellectual equipment and training are required. But surely we must agree with Carl Henry in his assessment and verdict.

The Mennonite Quarterly Review

AMBROSIUS SPITTELMAYR: HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS

HERBERT C. KLASSEN*

At Cadolzburg in Franconia on February 6, 1528, Ambrosius Spittelmayr[1] was lawfully beheaded as an "un-Christian revolutionary and seditionist."[2] He had been in prison since September 9, 1527,[3] and had been badly mistreated and severely tortured.[4] During his lengthy trial he defended himself so well that his accusers mistook him for a former priest.[5] Actually he had only been baptized as an Anabaptist by Hans Hut on July 25, 1527, in his home town of Linz, where he was enrolled as a university student.[6] He left his home sometime in August and traveled for approximately one month as an Anabaptist apostle, preaching and baptizing in Upper Austria, Bavaria, and Franconia.[7] He was tried, tortured, and executed far from his home, a silent martyr for the cause of nonresistant discipleship, a voluntary church, and religious liberty.[8] Although he was

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1 To my knowledge no separate study has been made of Spittelmayr. There is a brief account in A. Nicoladoni, *Johannes Bünderlin von Linz und die oberösterreichischen Täufergemeinden* (Berlin, 1893) pp. 51-60; and in W. Wiswedel, *Bilder und Führergestalten aus dem Täufertum* II (Kassel, 1930) pp. 8-17.

2 The complete sentence is found in Karl Schornbaum, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Wiedertäufer, II. Band; Markgraftum Brandenburg (Bayern: I. Abteilung),* (Leipzig, 1934) pp. 109-111. (Henceforth referred to as *Bayern I.*)

3 *Bayern I,* 24

4 *Ibid.,* 104

5 *Ibid.,* 28

6 *Ibid.,* 47, 104

7 Grete Mecenseffy, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich* (Graz and Cologne, 1956) p. 38

8 The records of the court proceedings are found in *Bayern I,* 24 f.

active as an Anabaptist only two months and in prison five, his witness and confession was that of a mature Christian who was willing to go the way of death rather than deny the church brotherhood and his Master.

As a background for Hut's life and thought it is necessary to look briefly at the rise and spread of Anabaptism in Austria.[9] The first Anabaptist center in Upper Austria was Steyr. As early as 1525 Anabaptists are thought to have gathered here.[10] Early in 1526 Balthasar Hubmaier[11] passing through Steyr on his way to Nikolsburg found Anabaptists here. There is no definite knowledge about the origin of the Anabaptist group in Steyr. The first visit of Hans Hut[12] to Steyr occurred in the middle of June 1527. At this time he baptized Leonhard Dorfbrunner[13] and sent him out as an Anabaptist evangelist together with Jerome Hermann, Leonhard Schiemer, and Jacob Portner.[14] Dorfbrunner, it is known, traveled by way of Salzburg and Munich to Augsburg, where he attended the Martyr Synod August 20, 1527.[15]

After Hut left Steyr he traveled to Linz and there baptized Spittelmayr on July 25, 1527. After the destruction of the Anabaptist congregation in Steyr, Brandhuber[16] began a very vigorous work at Linz and in the country round about. Whether Spittelmayr was here when Brandhuber arrived is not evident from the sources. Hut also baptized converts in Freistadt, Gallneukirchen, Schärding, Braunau, Laufen, and Salzburg as he made his way to Augsburg.

Life and Court Trials

Ambrosius Spittelmayr was a native of Linz.[17] In one of his confessions[18] he says that he was thirty years old when he was baptized, so we can assume that he was born about 1497. His parents resided in

9 The most recent and comprehensive survey of Austrian Anabaptism is to be found in Grete Mecenseffy, *op. cit.*, Chapter VI, "Das österreichische Täufertum," pp. 35-43.

10 *Mennonite Encyclopedia* I, (Goshen, 1955), "Austria," p. 197. (Henceforth referred to as *ME*)

11 There is no apparent trace of the unique position of Hubmaier on the relation of church and state in the early confessions of the Anabaptists of Austria.

12 *ME* II, "Hans Hut," pp. 846-850. The published section of W. Neuser's thesis: *Hans Hut. Leben und Wirken bis zum Nikolsburger Religionsgespräch* (Bonn, 1913) does not give an account of Hut's activity in Austria.

13 See below, fn. 96.

14 Portner was chaplain in the castle of the Lord von Ragendorf at Steyr. He must have had previous contacts with or leanings toward Anabaptism, for when Hut arrived in Steyr in June 1527 Portner was responsible for taking him to leading citizens and arranging for him to preach.

15 *ME* III, pp. 529-531

16 *ME* I, pp. 404-405

17 It is necessary to distinguish between Ambrosius Spittelmayr and Hans Spittelmayr. Hans was a preacher of the Reformation to the count at Nikolsburg in Moravia. Hans sided with Hubmaier when he arrived in Nikolsburg, and was counted among the "Stäbler." On Hans Spittelmayr see J. Beck, ed., *Die Geschichts-Bücher der Wiedertäufer in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Wien, 1883) pp. 72-73. MQR XXX (Jan. 1956) p. 11 shows evidence of such confusion.

18 *Bayern I*, 50

Linz when he became an Anabaptist.[19] The fact that he referred to himself as a student probably meant that he was enrolled at a university and had not completed his studies. There is no indication in his confessions that he took an interest in the Reformers before he met Hans Hut.

On August 10, 1527, Spittelmayr baptized someone at Gallneukirchen.[20] He must have left Linz shortly after this date, for by September 9 he had visited Augsburg,[21] Nürnberg, Schwabach, Gunzenhausen, and Erlangen. He left some indications of the method he used while traveling. On arriving in a village he would go to the tavern and ask whether the local priest was preaching the Gospel; this would lead to a discussion of what the Gospel is. He would also ask people how they had come to know Christ and whether they believed they were true Christians.[22] He stopped in small villages and at markets to encourage men to accept baptism.[23]

When Spittelmayr arrived in Erlangen on September 9, 1527, he inquired about Hans Nadler and said that he had a letter for him. Since it was known that Nadler was an Anabaptist and had recently been forced to flee, Spittelmayr was held for questioning and admitted that he had been rebaptized. He stated that "he had come because of the Word of God and to declare the truth, regardless of consequences, decapitation, or burning."[24] Erkinger von Senkendorf of Erlangen, writing to Nürnberg and inquiring how to handle Spittelmayr, reported that his manner was like that of Hans Hut, "for he also had books about the new teachings."[25]

At his first trial on September 9, 1527, Spittelmayr was presented with a series of twenty questions.[26] These questions were quite factual and did not probe into his Anabaptist teachings. Among other things he was asked when he was baptized and by whom, who else was baptized and where they lived, who their leaders were, what they did when they met, and whether he had baptized anyone. His own purpose, as he expressed it, was "to preach, baptize and bring those who respond to faith in Christ—doing this because God commanded it through His Son after His resurrection."[27]

In the correspondence[28] between Erlangen, Ansbach, Nürnberg,

19 *Ibid.*, 47
20 *Ibid.*, 34
21 It is possible that he was in Augsburg during the time of the Martyr Synod. If this is true it is strange that he should not know Hans Denck. (*Bayern I*, 45-47) Cf. below, p. 21, fn. 92.
22 *Bayern I*, 36
23 *Ibid.*, 28
24 *Bayern I*, 24
25 *Ibid.*, 24
26 The questions and answers are found in *Bayern I*, 25-28.
27 *Ibid.*, 27
28 *Ibid.*, 28-32

and Würzburg that followed this first trial, it is evident that he was looked upon as a threat to both church and state. Before September 20 he was transferred to Ansbach and faced with a set of thirty-five questions sent to Ansbach from the court at Nürnberg. In his answers[29] to the new questions he revealed the central place of suffering discipleship in his thought, and his understanding of water baptism as a covenant with God and the Church. He challenged the right of the authorities to control the soul and conscience but maintained that this was not revolutionary, nor was his conviction that Christians should practice sharing dangerous. The questions also demonstrate a concern about the extent of his spiritualism and the quality of his eschatology.

On September 23, 1527, Nürnberg reported to Ansbach that Hans Hut had been taken captive in Augsburg and that they were sending along a set of the thirty-two questions that were to be used at Hut's trial.[30] On October 2 Spittelmayr was transferred to Cadolzburg for safe keeping.[31] Augsburg sent a copy of Hut's answers to Ansbach and mentioned that Hut claimed no knowledge of Spittelmayr.[32] Spittelmayr's written answer to the questions contributed by Nürnberg present the fullest statement of his position.[33]

At some point during his imprisonment an "Explanation Concerning His Release"[34] was issued, which summarized his heretical teaching concerning baptism, communion, christology, and community of goods, and promised to set him free if he would change his ways, agree to be quiet about Anabaptism, and never come within a thirty-mile radius of Cadolzburg. Spittelmayr stated that he could not agree to these conditions. He was sure that Christ had commissioned him to offer peace to every home he entered. With David he felt that his tongue would cleave to the roof of his mouth if he should try to forget God, and with Paul he said: Woe unto me if I preach not the Gospel of Christ. Since Christ had said, whoever would deny Him before men He would deny before His heavenly Father, how could he promise to travel through the country and say nothing concerning his faith? After stating his position in the four areas mentioned, he asked the authorities why they refused to refute his articles from the Scriptures. "With the prophet Isaiah, I desire nothing other than peace and truth in my day."[35]

On January 5, 1528, Margrave George issued a mandate[36] against

29 *Ibid.*, 32-39
30 *Bayern I*, 39. The questions appear on pp. 45-47.
31 *Ibid.*, 40
32 *Ibid.*, 40
33 *Ibid.*, 47-56
34 *Ibid.*, 62-65
35 *Ibid.*, 65
36 *Bayern I*, 96

the Anabaptists which reflects the first five accusations against Spittelmayr. On January 26, 1528, Sigmund von Hessberg, Obermarschall at Cadolzburg, reported to Ansbach that he had talked with Spittelmayr but that he would not recant and when he was tortured he did not complain but only prayed that God might help him remain true and endure, and praised God for the opportunity of suffering for His Word's sake.[37]

The decision to execute Spittelmayr for inciting revolution and engaging in sedition came on February 6, 1528.[38] The sentence itself is a tragic example of misunderstanding and false charges. It begins by saying that because the "suffering, need, death, murder, confiscation of property and other astounding abuses, damage, and destruction to body, soul, honor and property"[39] was primarily the work of corner preachers (*Winkelprediger*), of whom Spittelmayr was an example, and because he had acted contrary to the Scriptures by encouraging revolution and inciting the subjects against their government, he must be done away with. He was charged more specifically with saying that (1) the revolutionary peasants were right and would succeed in their second attempt at overthrow; (2) God would soon raise up a people that would annihilate 10,000 men; (3) no Christian can hold a government office; (4) no Christian should own any temporal goods or possessions; (5) all castles and fortresses are to be destroyed; (6) Christ was born in original sin and God is His enemy; (7) infant baptism is meaningless since baptism follows after faith; (8) at the Lord's Supper we participate only in wine and bread and not in the body and blood of Christ. The first six charges were unfounded, for Spittelmayr denied them in his confessions. The last two were true, but they had nothing to do with revolution or sedition. Thus, falsely accused and unjustly treated, he was led to the gallows to lay down his life for his faith.

Teachings

From the time that Spittelmayr was baptized he was possessed by a vision of men taking upon themselves the cross and going the way of suffering discipleship; not doing this alone, but going this way together as a holy, covenant community, in a hostile world. His whole thought structure is related to this vision. The quality of his brief life as an Anabaptist apostle and the theme of his confessions are a living testimony to this two-fold vision: suffering discipleship and the covenant people of God.

37 *Ibid.*, 104
38 *Ibid.*, 108-109
39 *Ibid.*, 109

The basic direction of his faith is very well illustrated by the series of questions that he asked strangers.[40] First he asked the stranger whether he was a Christian. If not, this was the place to begin. If the answer was affirmative, the next question concerned the quality of his life as a Christian—was he a disciple of Christ? Since this question could be affirmatively answered by a lonely mystic or spiritualist, his next question touched on his relation to his brothers. By this he did not mean mere good-will toward others, but rather those relationships with others which constitute the Church. This is clarified in his next question: Do you hold all things in common[41] with your brothers and they with you, or are there those among you who are in need of food and clothing? Spittelmayr believed that when a man forsook all to follow Christ, he would be willing to share all things, both temporal and spiritual, with his brother. The relation to the brother within the body of Christ also implies the practice of brotherly discipline—which was the next question he asked. These questions show Spittelmayr's belief that it is wrong to think that one can be a Christian without discipleship, to think that discipleship does not involve the brother, to refuse to share one's possessions freely with the brother, and not to share admonition and discipline within the body of Christ. These concepts and principles are further explained and developed in his confessions.

(*a*) *Suffering Discipleship*—In his major confession Spittelmayr discussed the person of Christ and discipleship together.[42] Because Christ is the basis and pattern for discipleship he placed more stress on the humanity, suffering, and atonement of Christ than on His divinity and resurrection. It is quite wrong, however, to view this as a denial of the divinity of Christ, as some have claimed.[43] This is a corrective to those who emphasize the divinity of Christ to such an extent that He no longer is a challenge to men to follow in His steps.

> Christ, true God and man, the head of all His members, has erased with His suffering the eternal wrath of God that was directed against us. He has reconciled us and restored us to peace with God, and as our personal mediator His suffering and death have opened for us the kingdom of heaven, from which we had fallen because of Adam.[44]

From this he concluded directly that we must also live, suffer, and die as He did for us, if we want to inherit the kingdom of heaven.

40 *Bayern I*, 48
41 This does not mean organized communism. See below p. XXX
42 *Bayern I*, 51
43 Mecenseffy, *op. cit.*, 38
44 *Bayern I*, 51

The patient acceptance of suffering is a recurrent theme in the testimonies of Spittelmayr[45] and is presented as an integral part of a life of discipleship. We must drink the cup that He drank. If we enjoy this world and live according to the lusts of the flesh we must suffer in the next. We partake of Christ when He is spiritually conceived, born, circumcised, baptized, and preached in us. The Word must become flesh and live in us. We are like the scattered ones who have no abiding city—of whom the prophets spoke. Our righteousness cannot make peace with this world; we must suffer and be purged, either with water (baptism) or with fire (eternal judgment). In Spittelmayr's confession the emphasis is on discipleship, i.e., following Christ, rather than on suffering as in Thomas Müntzer and some of the earlier mystics.

(*b*) *The Covenant Community*—Spittelmayr believed that the foundation of the Church is Jesus Christ and the basis and functioning principle of the Church is the covenant. The sign of entry into the body of Christ and the church-brotherhood is baptism, which he understood primarily as a covenant. Once the covenant has been made and sealed by the Church, it also characterizes the continuing life of the Church. According to Spittelmayr the Anabaptists practiced among themselves brotherly admonition, the sharing of all things, nonresistance, and participation in baptism and the Lord's Supper. "This covenant is realized in the Spirit, in baptism, and in the drinking of the cup, which Christ has called the baptism of blood. We covenant ourselves to God to remain with Him in one love, one spirit, one faith, and one baptism, and on the other hand God covenants to be our Father and to stay with us in tribulation."[46] Spittelmayr held that the Scriptures are full of this covenant concept.

Spittelmayr had no respect for his first baptism, viz., as an infant. Whenever a child is baptized Christ is blasphemed, for a child's soul is pure even though it is conceived and born in original sin. Baptism of infants is useless for they do not have the capacity to distinguish between good and evil.[47] When Spittelmayr was asked what someone baptized into the brotherhood must promise to do, he replied: Just as a man who is baptized subjects himself to the sign of baptism, the water, even so he must prostrate himself before God the Almighty and remain constant despite imprisonment, martyrdom, or other evils.[48] No one was baptized unless he voluntarily requested it and declared the teaching of Christ to be right and true. He himself had been moved to accept baptism because he wanted to be a true Chris-

45 *Ibid.*, 51, 35, 53
46 *Bayern I*, 49
47 *Bayern I*, 36-37
48 *Ibid.*, 35

tian. Christ taught His disciples when He left them to "go into all the world and preach the Gospel; whoever believes and is baptized is saved." The preaching of God's Word must come before, and not after, baptism. This theme appears in many Anabaptist writings. Apart from a voluntary faith, the concept of covenant would be meaningless and without a willing commitment the disciple-church would be an impossibility.

Spittelmayr stated in his confessions that the covenant takes place when Christians partake of the Lord's Supper;[49] Christ called the drinking of the wine the baptism of blood. In this way Spittelmayr integrates baptism, communion, the covenant, and the disciple-church into one whole. In speaking of the Lord's Supper he accused the priests of a very wooden understanding of Christ's words in John 6: He who eats My flesh and drinks My blood has eternal life. One should not look at these words outwardly but rather put away the letter and seek the spirit. The Christian eats the flesh of Christ by giving himself here and now as a member of Christ's body. A true Christian must do everything in his spiritual Christ that Christ did visibly in the flesh. In this way the Word becomes flesh and lives in us. He drinks the blood of Christ who willingly subjects himself to the discipline and rod of the Father and suffers with Christ and his brothers in the flesh. In this manner Abel, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and all the Prophets ate the body and drank the blood. Whoever is not willing to be baptized in this manner in spirit, water, and blood, must be baptized in the fiery pit.[50]

Very closely related to the meaning of the covenant, baptism, and the Lord's Supper, is Spittelmayr's use and understanding of Paul's figure of the body of Christ. All who are one with Christ through His divine Word are members of His body; i.e., hands, feet, or eyes. Christ, as the head, governs the members and together they function much like a physical body. In one body there are many members but each one serves the other, so that what one member has in the way of gifts, all the other members have as well. One of the characteristics of all members is that they are humble in their relations with one another and obedient to one another.[51] The importance that he attached to the functioning together of the members in the Church is astounding since he was free as an Anabaptist only about seven weeks, and had consequently not been able to experience many of the blessings of the fellowship of the saints.

(*c*) *All Things in Common*—In defining the covenant or com-

49 *Ibid.*, 52-53
50 *Bayern I*, 53
51 *Ibid.*, 49-50

mitment made to one another in the Anabaptist brotherhood Spittelmayr said, "Nor is anyone to withhold anything from the others but rather to have all things in common, both temporal and spiritual."[52] This kind of sharing grows out of a spirit of patient suffering and love for the brother, not from an ideal of strict communitarianism. "Poverty of spirit," however, is more than a mere pious sentiment.

> Nobody can inherit the kingdom unless he is poor with Christ, for a Christian has nothing of his own, no place where he can lay his head. A real Christian should not even have enough property on the face of the earth to stand on with one foot. This does not mean that he should lie down in the woods and not have a trade, or that he should not have fields and meadows or that he should not work, but alone that he might not think they are for his own use and be tempted to say: this house is mine, this field is mine, this dollar is mine. Rather he should say it is ours, even as we pray *"Our* Father." In summary, a Christian should not have anything of his own but should have all things in common with his brother; i.e., not allow him to suffer need. In other words, I will not work that my house be filled, that my larder be supplied with meat, but rather I will see that my brother has enough, for a Christian looks more to his neighbor than to himself. Whoever desires to be rich in this world, is concerned that he miss nothing with regard to his person and property, is honored by men and feared by them, refuses to prostrate himself at the feet of his Lord, . . . he will be humbled.[53]

This is very much in the spirit of Paul, who said, "Let . . . those who buy [live] as though they had no goods, and those who deal deal with the world as though they had no dealings with it."[54] The later Hutterites would have called this spiritualizing, since for them community meant absolute propertylessness.

Spittelmayr denied the charge[55] of persuading men to sell house and home, but admitted that if one did leave house and land, it was not contrary to the Word of God and the desire of Christ for His disciples. When asked whether those with private possessions would be saved[56] he answered with a paradox: "A true Christian who desires to be a Christian in name and deed should have nothing of his own; and if he does have a wife, children, and property he shall so live and conduct himself as if he had none."[57]

Spittelmayr was convinced that if all men should become Christians at once and be at unity in faith and spirit, they would hold all goods in common.

When the authorities tried to apply what Spittelmayr said about the covenant-brotherhood to society at large they became alarmed and asked: If nobody possessed anything, who would till the soil and

52 *Ibid.*, 50
53 *Bayern I*, 49
54 I Cor. 7:30-31 (RSV)
55 *Bayern I*, 54
56 *Ibid.*, 33
57 *Ibid.*, 36

work? Who would maintain peace and order if men ran around "like loose cattle"? As soon as a man accumulated anything he would have to gilve it away to some lazy drunkard who refused to work. Spittelmayr's reply was that there would be no lazy drunkards in the covenant community. No true Christian would ever be idle or lazy, nor would he count on his brother for sustenance. If all men were Christians they would all work to capacity and earn their bread by the sweat of their brows. One example in the confession of September 22 should have assuaged any fear in the hearts of the authorities: If there were one hundred Anabaptists in this or any other town and there were only ten not of their faith, they would not molest anyone nor take anything; all they would do is pray to God for them that they might also be enlightened by the divine Word.[58] Nothing could be more contrary to the revolutionary spirit so evident in Thomas Müntzer and the later Münsterite leaders.

(*d*) *Church Order*—In his discussion of the church as the body of Christ, Spittelmayr had already stated that the functioning of the members in the body requires primarily a humble serving of one another. In the area of service there is to be total equality among members, each serving with the measure of faith and ability that has been given to him. The members have only one head, and that is Christ; hence in a society such as theirs there is no ruler (*Oberst*).[59] The words of Christ, "Whoever would be the greatest among you let him be the least," opposed any form of hierarchy. The only office that Spittelmayr recognized was that of apostleship. In expressing his own purpose he interpreted the Anabaptist understanding of the role of the apostle: "It is my desire to preach and baptize and lead men into the Christian faith; God instituted this work by His Son after the resurrection."[60]

The intensity of the persecution in Upper Austria, Bavaria, and Franconia from the outset of the Anabaptist movement made it impossible for them to meet anywhere for any length of time. Mobility was a common and necessary qualification. If one meeting place was discovered they tried another, and if they could not meet in town they met in the country, in the woods, or in some deserted mill or barn. If a congregation in one town was seriously disrupted, many members would move to a neighboring town so as to be able to meet with brothers.

58 *Bayern I*, 37

59 *Bayern I*, 35

60 *Bayern I*, 27. The brevity of his life as an Anabaptist and his limited experience of congregational life are probably the reason for silence regarding servants of the Word, servants for the needy, and other exercising of the gifts of the spirit in the brotherhood.

The order of their worship service was very simple and functional. The study of the Word of God was central, and although Spittelmayr did not mention it specifically, the meetings often closed with the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Baptism was very simple in form and easy to adminster.[61] Spittelmayr described their meetings as follows: "When they gather they do nothing other than teach each other from the Word of God and ask each other how they understand passages; so that there is a busy exercising of the Word of God among them."[62]

(*e*) *The Word of God*—The effect of the study of the Scriptures on the Anabaptist movement and on its apostles is very evident in Spittelmayr's written confession. In it he makes, directly or indirectly, sixty-nine citations from the New Testament, over half of which refer to the Gospels, and thirty-four from the Old Testament, all but two of which refer to the Prophets. The central role of discipleship makes the frequent reference to the Gospels inevitable. In times of persecution and upheaval it is quite natural that the Prophets would be appreciated. The Anabaptist apostles, it could be said, had some of the characteristics of the prophets of old, who spoke out strongly against superficial religiosity, idolatry, and immorality. Spittelmayr referred to Hut as "a true prophet sent from God,"[63] and a "commissioned apostle sent from God in these last and most perilous times."[64]

Spittelmayr accepted without reservation the authority of the Bible and the essential unity of the two Testaments. He looked upon the covenant as characteristic of the faith of the people of God of both Testaments, and upon the patriarchs and the prophets as participating with all true disciples in the true spiritual eating and drinking of the body and blood of Christ. He did not follow the spiritualists in allegorizing away the Old Testament nor was he a slave to the letter of the Word. In his discussion of the Lord's Supper[65] he criticized the wooden view characteristic of the priests and suggested that at times one must look behind the letter to arrive at the spirit and meaning of a passage. Nowhere did he set up a principle of setting the Spirit over against the letter or the letter over against the Spirit. When he was asked whether God strengthens the community or the individual Christian with dreams or visions, he

61 " 'I baptize you in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit,' are the words they used, . . . and then taking a dish or jug of water they immersed two fingers and described a cross on the person's forehead. This is the form and manner of their baptism" (*Bayern I*, 26).

62 *Ibid.*, 36. After describing the meeting Spittelmayr adds, "What they eat or drink they pay for." This was probably added and done to prevent outsiders from looking upon this as feasting or banqueting.

63 *Bayern I*, 50

64 *Ibid.*, 26

65 *Ibid.*, 52-53

replied negatively but asserted that God does strengthen, guide, and instruct the covenant community through His Spirit.[66] The Word of God and the will of God are appropriated by the Christian and the church through the Spirit, and in obedience.

An interesting insight into Spittelmayr's use of the Scriptures is contained in his understanding of the command of Christ to preach the Gospel to the whole creation. Rather than "to the whole creation," he understood it to mean "by means of the whole creation"; he explained that God has given us created things that we might use the visible to understand the invisible. Christ, for example, explained living water and eternal life to the woman at the well by means of the physical water that she had given Him to drink. In the same way any occupation or trade can become a book through which to learn to know the will of God. All of history can even be looked upon as a "creature" through which one can learn what God has to say.[67] This is not thought of as a substitute for the written Word of God, but merely a means to make plain the Gospel. A common use of this figure in Anabaptist writings is the example of the suffering that animals must go through in order to be of any use to man; in the same way Christ had to suffer before His redemption became effective, and even so man must suffer as he follows Christ and does the will of God.[68]

It is very likely that Spittelmayr received this interpretation directly from Hans Hut, who explained it fully and in a very similar manner in his *Vom geheimnus der tauf*.[69] Although the word "creature" appears a few times in the writings of Thomas Müntzer[70] and quite often in the writings of Hans Denck,[71] neither uses it in the way that Hut does. Schlaffer[72] and Schiemer,[73] however, use it in precisely the same way that Hut and Spittelmayr do, as does also Pilgram Marpeck.[74] It seems very clear that Hans Hut was the first to use this concept in relationship to the preaching of the Gospel, and that from him it passed into the stream of the South German Anabaptist movement.

66 *Bayern I*, 38
67 *Bayern I*, 48
68 *Bayern I*, 35. See also Leonhard Schiemer in Lydia Müller, ed., *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter* (Leipzig, 1948) 49 (henceforth referred to as *Glaubenszeugnisse I*) and . . . H. Schlaffer, *ibid.*, p. 85.
69 *Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 15-16
70 Otto H. Brandt, *Thomas Müntzer: Sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Jena, 1933) 139, 142, 172, 175, 184, 189, 192. Mecenseffy's attempt to trace a genetic connection between his use and that of Hut has been unsuccessful (G. Mecenseffy, "Die Herkunft des oberösterreichischen Täufertums," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 1956, No. 2, pp. 252-259).
71 Walter Fellmann, ed., *Hans Denck Schriften* (*Quellen zur Refomationsgeschichte* XXIV, 1956) see Index.
72 *Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 85-88
73 *Ibid.*, 49-50
74 *Kunstbuch*, 86-87, in Samuel Geiser's transcript in the Goshen College Library.

(*f*) *Eschatology*—Spittelmayr had a strong conviction that Christ would soon reappear in His glorified body to judge the living and the dead and to establish the kingdom of God in its fullness—uniting Head and members, citizens and King. Confirming this consciousness of the imminent reappearing of Christ are the last four of the Seven Decisions.[75] It can be said immediately that there is nothing dangerously radical, premillennial, or dispensational about his eschatology. He was quick to admit that neither the day nor the hour of Christ's reappearing is known.[76] The end of the world (Decision 4) is nigh and with it its lusts will pass away. In the future judgment (Decision 5) Christ will appear to judge the living and the dead, everybody reaping in eternity what he has sown in time. In the great resurrection (Decision 6) the ungodly will arise to death, for they have lived and lusted here, and the godly will arise to life, for they have been dead here. The eternal verdict (Decision 7) will seal the fate of the ungodly to the eternal fire that does not consume.

His eschatology was, however, objectionable to the authorities because, being impressed with the sinfulness of his generation, he considered the Turkish threat a sign of the judgment of God.[77] The evil state of affairs convinced him that the final day of judgment could not be far off. It would, however, be quite impossible to think that Spittelmayr and the Anabaptists would have assisted the Turks if they had come to central Europe.

(*g*) *The Civil Authorities*—There was in Spittelmayr's eschatology no ground for suspicion of revolutionary tendencies toward the authorities and the civil order. Nowhere did he advocate any action against the authorities. Rather, he believed with most South German Anabaptists that the authorities were originally instituted[78] by God and that it is the duty of the government "to judge word and deed that is directed against God and man."[79] His complaint against the government was that it was no longer doing this and had therefore proven itself to be a blind leader of the blind, seeking only its own ends and not those of God. "The government had judged word and deed that it thought was directed against God, but it had turned out that these words and deeds were of God. In this way the government resembles Pilate when he sentenced Christ."[80]

It is quite easy to understand that under torture and a death sentence for doing what he saw as the will of God, he would feel

75 *Bayern I*, 49-50. See below, p. and Appendix A.
76 *Ibid.*, 54
77 *Bayern I*, 55
78 *Ibid.*, 52
79 *Ibid.*, 52
80 *Ibid.*, 52

that the government was abusing its duties and powers as given by God and recognized by man. Whether this high view of the function of the authorities meant that they ever could fulfill it, he does not clearly state. Only a Christian government could do justice to this duty, but nowhere does he suggest that this is his meaning. When Spittelmayr suggested that if there were a preponderance of Anabaptists in a town, they would not try to take over the government but merely pray for the salvation of the unbelievers,[81] he was not advocating governmental reform but rather felt that for true Christians government is unnecessary, for among Christians love is the governing factor.[82] It is nominal Christians who must be coerced, else they would continually be poking each other's eyes out.

Having defined the nature of government and the extent of its powers, Spittelmayr stated very clearly that "according to the teaching of Christ one must give them what is due them [obedience]."[83] But he limited this, suggesting that there is a higher principle and a higher obedience for the Christian. "When it comes to the souls and consciences of men, they [the authorities] should not have any power to coerce."[84] Whether this means nonswearing of the oath and the nonpayment of war taxes is not clear. If these acts impinge upon a man's conscience they must be avoided, and since he describes the government as no longer "in God," it is possible that he meant to say that the Christian is called to work at the redemption of men, rather than at the preservation of law and order. Since neither Denck, Hut, Spittelmayr, Schiemer, Schlaffer, nor even Marpeck made any dogmatic pronouncements in this area it is possible that they felt no simple rule was justifiable. With respect to the relation of the Christian to the civil authorities their position was nonresistant, yet nonlegalistic. In this matter as well as on the question of community of goods, the South German Anabaptists seem to have taken a position somewhere between that of the Swiss Brethren and the Hutterian Brethren.

The Relationship of Spittelmayr to the Larger Anabaptist Movement

The fact that an identical set of questions was given to both Hut and Spittelmayr facilitates a comparison of their respective positions.[85] The basic principles that are developed in Spittelmayr's con-

81 See above, p. 13.
82 *Bayern I*, p. 52
83 *Ibid.*, 38
84 *Ibid.*, 38
85 Hut's confession is in *Bayern I*, pp. 41-44; Spittelmayr's on pp. 47-56; and the questions on pp. 45-47.

fession are all reflected in Hut. His concept of the Church as an intimate sharing brotherhood is very similar to that of Hut. Their commitment to a visible covenant community is the crucial and central fact in the life and thought of both. The role of the covenant with God and the brother and the sign of baptism as acceptance into the brotherhood was emphasized by both. The role of suffering discipleship and the following of Christ even unto death was a common theme.

The Seven Decisions[86] afford an interesting point of comparison. They are a series of articles that Hut extracted from the Scriptures to serve as a key to the central message of the Word of God. Hut listed them twice[87] and refers to a book[88] of his that explained them, but nowhere in his extant writings is there a theological statement of their significance. In the letter[89] which Hut is believed to have written at the Martyr Synod, he listed the five eschatological articles and promised not to propagate them unless specifically asked. In his two major writings he made no mention of them, although his discussion of baptism could be considered a treatment of the first decision.[90]

The only full exposition of the Seven Decisions is to be found in a confession of Spittelmayr.[91] He made some minor changes and toned down the eschatological articles. Within the first article he included a discussion of the covenant and the Lord's Supper. The sixth article, the kingdom of God, Spittelmayr placed second and used it to give a warm description of the common life in the body of Christ. The third article, which should have been on the Lord's Supper, he used to describe the functioning of the members within the body of Christ. The titles of the other articles are similar to those of Hut.[92]

It is quite apparent from a comparison of the two confessions and a study of the Seven Decisions that the greatest single influence on Spittelmayr was Hans Hut. The same influence can also be traced

86 For a discussion of the Seven Decisions and their relationship to the Nikolsburger articles see *ME* III, 886-888.

87 Christian Meyer, "Die Anfänge des Wiedertäuferthums in Augsburg." *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben und Neuburg* (1874) 230; and *Bayern I*, 42

88 Meyer, *op. cit.*, 243-244; and *Bayern I*, 44

89 *Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 12

90 Scattered references to the subject of the various Decisions are found in the confessions of Hut: (1) The Gospel of Christ, faith and baptism, in *Bayern I*, 42-43; (2) The Lord's Supper, 43-44; (3) About judgment and the future of the Lord, p. 44; (4) The end of the world—Meyer, pp. 228, 237; (5) The resurrection of the dead—Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

91 *Bayern I*, 49-50. For a translation of the Seven Decisions see *Appendix A*.

92 The fact that the Seven Decisions do not appear as such in any other Anabaptist writing is probably an indication of the success of the Martyr Synod. The fact that they do appear in Spittelmayr is probably an indication that he was not in attendance at the Martyr Synod. If this is true, one of the more significant contributions from a study of Spittelmayr is the discovery that he reflects more purely than anyone else the position of the influential Anabaptist leader Hans Hut. In Hans Schlaffer (*Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 105-7) there is a sharp reaction against the idea of special insights into the mysteries of Scripture and into the problems of eschatology.

in the writings of Hans Schlaffer,[93] Leonhard Schiemer,[94] and Wolfgang Brandhuber,[95] as well as in the life and activity of Leonhard Dorfbrunner.[96] It is not the purpose of this paper to trace this influence in the Hutterian Brethren or in the Pilgrim Marpeck brotherhood, but to compare the ideas of Schlaffer and Schiemer with those of Spittelmayr in some of the more important questions related to church and state.

Common to all these men is the view of suffering discipleship found first in Hut. Hut maintained that "no one is able to arrive at the truth unless he follows in the steps of Christ and His chosen ones in the school of sorrow."[97] This position is similarly expressed by Spittelmayr,[98] Schlaffer,[99] and Schiemer.[100]

In all these men, beginning with Hut, there is a strong plea for a visible, disciplined Church. In Hut's confessions and writings the visible brotherhood plays a central role, for his identification with the Anabaptist community was the crucial turning point of his life.[101]

93 Schlaffer came into contact with Hut at Nikolsburg in April 1527. He was active as an Anabaptist apostle in Upper Austria, Tyrol, and Bavaria until Dec. 6, 1527, when he was taken captive at Schwatz. He was executed on Feb. 20, 1528. It is not known whether or when he was baptized. A number of his writings appear in *Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 83-125. The influence of Hut is very clear.

94 Schiemer was baptized in Vienna in June 1527, after hearing Hans Hut preach for two days. He had been in Nikolsburg as well but was not moved by the preaching of Balthasar Hubmaier to join the Anabaptist movement. After his baptism, he accompanied Hut and was active in Steyr during the summer of 1527. He attended the Martyr Synod and was active in Bavaria, Salzburg, and Austria as an Anabaptist apostle. He was taken captive in Rottenburg on the Inn on Nov. 25, 1527, where he was burned at the stake on Jan. 14, 1528. A number of his writings appear in *Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 43-82. The influence of Hans Hut on his thought is very obvious. The similarity between the course of his life and thought and that of Hans Schlaffer and Ambrosius Spittelmayr is remarkable.

95 Brandhuber is another Anabaptist who comes within the circle of influential leaders in Upper Austria and South Germany. He had been a priest in Linz, but later he is described as the one who continued Hut's work in Upper Austria. He was leader of the large Anabaptist group in Linz in the years 1528-1529. In 1529 he laid down his life for his faith and Peter Riedemann carried on in his place at Linz. One of his letters appears in *Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 137-42.

96 Dorfbrunner was baptized by Hut in Steyr in the spring of 1527. He was at the Martyr Synod and remained in Augsburg as leader of the Anabaptist congregation, baptizing over one hundred by the end of the year. In August 1528 he was taken captive and burned at the stake in Passau while on a mission to Linz. "Dorfbrunner must be considered one of the most successful pioneers of the Anabaptist movement in South Germany and Austria. In the very brief period of his ministry he is reported to have baptized about 3,000 converts (*ME* II, 94). To my knowledge none of his writings or confessions are extant.

97 *Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 14. This statement is very similar to that in Denck (Fellmann, *op. cit.,* 45). "We must give ourselves in obedience to Christ and suffer the will of God in body and soul (leib und laid) in order to attain unto salvation" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I*).

98 ". . . therefore we must also live, suffer, and die, as he the head died for us. For whoever will not suffer with him, will not suffer with him, will not inherit with him" (*Bayern I,* 51).

99 "We must enter the kingdom of heaven by way of much dread and sorrow" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 88). "Christ suffered for us and left us an example and image that we might follow in his steps, . . . for whoever suffers in the body stops sinning" (p. 89).

100 "It is not possible for God, though He is almighty, to save me without the cross, for this is salvation: if I love nothing but alone God. . . . This will not take place without pain, suffering, and dread" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 66). Brandhuber's letter is directed at certain specific problems and takes the general Anabaptist position for granted.

101 "When there are a number of Christians who have gone the way of the cross, suffering and sorrow and are covenanted together, they become one congregation and one body in Christ—a visible Church" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 36).

The Church was central to the thought of Spittelmayr, as has been shown; Schlaffer[102] and Schiemer[103] express similar views.

In Hut there is a very well developed doctrine of baptism and covenant.[104] After preaching has taken place and the individual has responded in faith, he is baptized and enters the covenant community. Again this position is reflected consistently in Spittelmayr,[105] Schiemer,[106] and Schlaffer.[107]

An emphasis on spontaneous and unstructured community of goods or love sharing is found in its germinal stage in Hans Hut.[108] In Spittelmayr the paradox between having and yet not possessing is more carefully worked out.[109] Schiemer[110] and Schlaffer[111] represent a position very similar to that of Spittelmayr. Brandhuber[112]

102 "Because God is again raising up a visible, holy, Christian congregation by His Son Christ in these last and perilous times, He also desires that it become apparent in the world through the visible sign of baptism" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 93).

103 "Therefore all those who have not submitted themselves and all they have under the cross of Christ and into the community of the saints, who have not been released *(entbunden)* from their sins by a Christian congregation, are of the devil and antichrist" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 68).

104 "At this point baptism must be added to the first two sections (preaching and faith) and take its rightful place, for whoever agrees to bear and suffer everything that the Father places on him through Christ and decides in his heart to remain with Christ and to forsake the world, accepts the sign of baptism as a covenant commitment before a Christian congregation. The congregation has the authority and power to extend the covenant to those who desire it with all their heart—even as the Lord said: what you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 20). "Such a person is assured that he is an accepted child of God, a brother or sister of Christ, a member of the Christian community and the Body of Christ—since you are committed to such unity according to the will of God" (p. 20).

105 "We know of no commitment that we have made with one another except baptism. . . ." (*Bayern I,* 54). "God makes his covenant with his own when he receives them as children. This covenant is realized in the Spirit, in baptism, and in the drinking of the cup—which Christ has called the baptism of blood" (p. 49).

106 "Water baptism is the seal of faith and the inward covenant with God" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 78). "Whoever is not willing to die with Christ, nor become a member of the Body of Christ, and rejects the community of the saints and water baptism, he is refusing the baptism of blood" (p. 79).

107 "I consider this covenant nothing other than the baptism of Christ in spirit and fire" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 91). "Water baptism is a sign whereby Christians recognize and learn to know one another and whereby they make a public confession and promise to practice and demonstrate Christian brotherly love according to the command of Christ; that is: to teach, admonish, help, punish, exclude, bind, and loose one another. . . ." (p. 93).

108 Speaking of the congregation as one body in Christ and of the entrance of the member into the kingdom of God, he goes on to say: "There (the congregation) all goodness, mercy, praise, glory, and honor appear in the Holy Spirit, there all things are common, nothing private" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 36). "The covenant is submission in obedience to Christ, which expresses itself to all brothers and sisters with body, life, property, and honor, regardless of the misunderstanding of the world" (p. 20).

109 "No one is to withhold anything from the others but rather have all things in common, both spiritual and temporal gifts. . . ." (*Bayern I,* 48). "A true Christian, who desires to be one both in name and in deed, should possess nothing; and even if he has a wife, children, and property, he should live and act as if he had nothing" (p. 36). Cf. above, p. 11 f.

110 "Everyone is to share his gift with his brother and consider it common, even as the book of Acts states: It was all common" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 60). "Whoever submits to God under the cross is a child of God. But this is not sufficient, for he must separate himself from all those who will not submit to Christ, and must practice love and community with all those who are giving themselves to God. For these are closest to him and with them he must hold in common all gifts received from God, whether instruction, art, property, money, or anything else. What God lends to him must also be invested for the common good" (p. 67).

111 "The Body of Christ on earth is the believing congregation of Christ. Whoever eats of this bread at the Lord's Supper confesses that he desires to have fellowship (community) with the body of Christ and be a part of it in all things; i.e., to stick with the congregation through joy and sorrow, riches and poverty, honor and shame, mourning and rejoicing, death and life; yes, and give everything he has, both body and life, for his brothers even as Christ gave himself for him" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I,* 109).

112 "But some are saying it is wrong to hold goods in common or to reveal to one another, out of love, the state of one's possessions. They are opposed to servants of need (*Diener der Notdurft)* or elders, who extend to the needy the love gifts. They would sooner have nothing

works out the implications in still greater detail, probably in the light of objections raised by other Anabaptists. There is still no indication that he is calling for the communal position practiced later by the Hutterian Brethren. The earliest known Anabaptist Discipline of the Believers[113] seems to have grown out of the type of life and thought represented in these men.

In both Schlaffer[114] and Brandhuber[115] there are ardent appeals for simplicity of life. Brandhuber goès so far in renouncing the world as to thoroughly denounce the merchant's trade.[116] Hut probably took a radical position himself in these areas but when he heard that some in Switzerland had made regulations to control outward simplicity, he reacted: "In a similar manner concerning dress; some had dictated how simplicity in dress is to be observed. He demonstrated to them that such things are not forbidden by God, and maintained rather that everyone should be allowed to dress as he pleases."[117] This opposition to legalism is also evident in Hans Denck and Pilgram Marpeck.

Hut[118] and Spittelmayr[119] both advocate obedience to the civil authorities and insist that they have nothing in common with Thomas Müntzer's revolutionary position. A recent study of the writings of Müntzer[120] shows clearly that there was no influence on Hut or Spittelmayr at any significant point of doctrine or teaching. Müntzer's use of the terms "spirit," "covenant," "cross," "creature," and "church" differs substantially from that of Hut and Spittelmayr. Müntzer's lack of any clear position on the visible church and his progressive dedication to a way of violence deprived him crucially of any significant influence on the Anabaptist movement.

Although Hut was under Müntzer's revolutionary influence before he was converted to the Anabaptist movement, after his baptism he emphasized that God alone can take the initiative in using the sword.[121] At Nikolsburg in April 1527 Hut opposed Hubmaier's support of the use of the sword and the payment of wartaxes.[122] His

like this take place unless they are aware of it, and would actually prefer everybody to manage his own household—but this I consider wrong" (*Glaubenseugnisse I*, 138). Just whom Brandhuber is debating with is not clear.

113 Robert Friedmann, "The Oldest Church Discipline of the Anabaptists," *MQR* (April, 1955) 162-66

114 *Glaugenszeugnisse I*, 89

115 *Ibid.*, 139

116 *Ibid.*, 139

117 Meyer, *op. cit.*, 228

118 *Bayern I*, 44

119 *Ibid.*, 55

120 *ME* III, "Thomas Müntzer," 785-789.

121 Meyer, *op. cit.*, 241-242.

122 W. Neuser, *op. cit.*, 31-44.

converts and disciples Spittelmayr,[123] Schiemer,[124] Schlaffer,[125] and Brandhuber[126] all advocated obedience to the authorities but suggested certain general limitations. None of them stated specifically what is included in obedience to the authorities, and only Brandhuber suggested that war is excluded[127] and Schlaffer that the oath is prohibited.[128] The nonresistant position was for these Anabaptists not dependent on a clear delineation of the areas to be included or excluded in practicing obedience to the state. This position is typical of Denck, Hut, and Marpeck and a large part of what is gradually becoming known as the South German Anabaptist movement.[129]

Ambrösius Spittelmayr is only a part of a larger movement that began in 1526 in Augsburg with Hans Denck and Hans Hut and spread through most of southeast Germany and Austria in succeeding years. Hut was responsible for founding many of the Anabaptist congregations in Franconia, Bavaria, and Austria and for commissioning many of the apostles that met in the Martyr Synod in August 1527. Although Hut had to promise to moderate his eschatology, he was probably the guiding spirit at the synod and responsible for the vision of sending apostles into all the surrounding territories. Although the movement was ultimately beaten into submission by se-

123 "I am not opposed to the secular authorities, for according to the teachings of Christ one must give them the obedience that is due them. But when it comes to the souls and consciences of men, they should not have any power to coerce. It is not their [Anabaptists] intention to incite revolt for by their very nature they yearn only for peace and unity, for opportunity to learn the Word of God, and that all men might be led to a saving knowledge of God" (*Bayern I*, 38-39). "Those who support the government because of human fear and submit in the area of the soul and the conscience, cannot be saved—unless they do the command of Christ when He said: forsake what you have and follow after me" (*Bayern I*, 36).

124 "But Christians are obedient to the prince of this world with body and property; but to the prince of heaven, our Lord Jesus Christ, they are obedient with the soul and all things that pertain and belong to the faith" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 50). After describing those of spurious faith who have become calloused sinners, he says: "This type of person makes the best and happiest soldier; not concerned about danger he murders, kills, and steals what he can, scales the walls first, fights well, is a jolly dancer, tumbler, singer, gamester, scoffer, hangman, . . . abbot, deceiver, false witness" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 64).

125 "We pray also for all princes, authorities and lords; enlighten them with thy divine truth, so that they might use the power they have received from thee for the protection of the good and the punishment of the evil—so that they might not become guilty of innocent blood" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 97). In trying to keep the commands of Christ and do the will of God, an important aspect of this is: "Obedience to the authorities" (p. 116). When Schlaffer was asked to confirm his statements with an oath he refused, maintaining that what is above yes or no is of the evil one. When this means he will have to suffer, he states his nonresistant position: "I stand here as a lamb that will not open its mouth if led to the slaughter—if Christ grants me the strength and remains by me. It is for His name and his teaching that I am willing and obedient to suffer all things" (p. 124).

126 "Further I would like to admonish you that you allow no one to make a Moses of Christ, as those who support the sword on the basis of the law of Moses and thereby resist the teaching and example of Christ. . . . They want a Christian to judge and pronounce the death sentence. Christ the patient lamb, has never taught us this" (*Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 139). "Next, I would like to call your attention to the war question. Do not become guilty of fighting to protect your body, as if you wanted to fulfill your obedience to the government in doing this—for this is contrary to God, concerning the body and property, in these areas one must be obedient to the authorities" (p. 140).

127 *Glaubenszeugnisse I*, 140

128 *Ibid.*, 124

129 Jan Kiwiet's Zürich dissertation on Marpeck (Kassel, 1957) was the first one to emphasize the difference between the Swiss Anabaptists and the South German Anabaptists. Although there is not sufficient basis in his thesis for a clear distinction, the suggestion is bearing fruit in other studies in the same field.

vere persecution, out of it arose men like Pilgram Marpeck, Peter Riedemann, and Jakob Hutter, who carried the work on in Moravia and southwest Germany. For at least five years, 1526-1531, there was a rapid spread of Anabaptist congregations throughout South Germany. The movement was very similar to that in Switzerland in 1525-1527, but to it was added an emphasis on the covenant, on community of goods, and eschatology. It was also characterized by a nonlegalistic spirit in delineating the relationships of church to world that later characterized the Marpeck brotherhood.

Appendix A: The Seven Decisions[130]

There are seven decisions (judgments) in the Scriptures that reveal the will of God in full. But they are scattered throughout the Scriptures and are only summed up here as follows:

The first decision is about the divine covenant—the covenant which God has made with His own when He accepts them as children. This covenant is realized in the Spirit, in baptism, and in the drinking of the cup—which Christ has called the baptism of blood (Matt. 20:26; Luke 22; I Cor. 11). We are to covenant ourselves to God to remain with Him in one love, spirit, faith, and baptism (Eph. 2). On the other hand God covenants to be our Father, to stay with us in tribulation. The Holy Scriptures are full of this covenant concept.

The second decision is about the kingdom of God—which will be given alone to those who are poor in spirit (Matt. 5: Luke 6:50). Nobody can inherit this kingdom unless he is poor with Christ, for a Christian has nothing of his own, no place where he can lay his head. A real Christian should not even have enough property on the face of the earth to enable him to stand on it with one foot. This does not mean that he should go and lie down in the woods and not have a trade, or that he should not have fields and meadows, or that he should not work, but that he might not think they are for his own use and be tempted to say: this house is mine, this field is mine, this dollar is mine. Rather he should say it is ours, even as we pray: "Our Father." In summary: a Christian should not have anything of his own but should have all things in common with his brother; that is, not allow him to suffer need. In other words, I will not work that my house be filled, that my larder be filled with meat, but rather I will see that my brother has enough; for a Christian looks more to his neighbor than to himself (I Cor. 13). Whoever desires to be rich in this world, who is concerned that he miss nothing when it comes to his person and his property, who is honored by men and feared by them, who refuses to prostrate himself at the feet of his Lord like Magdalene or like the King of Nineveh, or King David, will be humbled (Luke 22:18; I Pet. 5). The kingdom of God is on this earth (Matt. 5) but heaven and earth will first be renewed by fire (Isaiah 66).

The third decision is about the body of Christ. All who are one with Christ through His divine Word are members of His body, that is, hands, feet, or eyes (such members of the body of Christ are, of course, spiritual—not visible). Christ, a true man in the flesh, is the head of the members

130 The German word *Urteil* can mean article, judgment, verdict, or decision.

and it is through the head that the members are governed. This head with its members functions much like a visible body. In one body there are many members, each with its own function, nevertheless each one serves the others, so that one member has all the other have as well. Members are also humble in their relations with one another and are obedient to one another (Luke 22; I Cor. 12; Rom. 14).

The fourth decision is about the end of the world. The time has come when God will purge all things through fire, earthquake, lightning, and thunder. Everything built will be cast down and destroyed even as happened in the great city of Babylon (Hab. 4:6, 7). All finery and wisdom of the world and its riches must melt, that the kingdom of Heaven might be revived (Ezek. 7; Jer. 30).

The fifth article is about the future and the judgment. After all things have been dashed to the ground and all mankind has died, then Christ will come (Matt. 25: 2 Cor. 5) in His glory to judge the living and the dead. Everyone will receive according to his works (Matt. 20), as we have sown here we will reap there. No condemned man has inherited his condemnation as yet, nor has any saint received what is in store for him.

The sixth article is about the resurrection. All mankind will be raised in body and soul, the godly will arise and live, for they have been dead here (Rom. 6), and the godless will arise to death, for they have lived here (Ezek. 18). Some have had their kingdom of heaven here, for they have lived in peace, enjoying the lusts of this world (Matt. 19; Luke 12:16; I Tim. 6).

The seventh and last article is about the eternal verdict (decision). The godless will inherit damnation and be cast into the eternal fire (Heb. 4; Matt. 25) which does not consume. There the biting worm will begin to gnaw at their hearts and men will begin to weep and howl and gnash their teeth, for they have laughed here and had peace all their lives (Matt. 23).

THE PHILIPPITE BRETHREN
A CHAPTER IN ANABAPTIST HISTORY

ROBERT FRIEDMANN*

Ever since the publication of Rudolf Wolkan's *Lieder der Wiedertäufer* in 1903, it has been general knowledge that the fifty-odd Anabaptists imprisoned in the castle of Passau, 1535-1540, who sang the earliest hymns of the *Ausbund*, belonged to a particular Anabaptist group, the Philippites, named after their erstwhile leader Philipp Plener. Of Plener a few facts related in the Hutterite Chronicle have likewise been well-known, above all that he had come from West Germany to Moravia and lived there from 1527 to 1535, first in conjunction with other Anabaptist groups but later separated from them, establishing his own group. In 1535, when governmental pressure grew, these Philippites left Moravia, and aside from the events at Passau nothing more was heard about them.

Thus far Anabaptist research has paid little attention to this apparently small splinter group; since no records have been preserved very little is known about their life, teaching, and later fate. And yet, it appears to be an intriguing task to reconstruct their story from the scant material at hand (in part still unpublished) since it may help to illustrate the motley character of early Anabaptism and its multiform expressions (1525-1540). Traditionally three groups are distinguished: the Swiss Brethren, the Mennonites, and the Hutterites. In recent years a fourth group has become more and more distinguishable, the Marbeck or South German Anabaptists (according to Loserth, Kiwiet, Fast, etc.), which more or less continued the line of Hans Denck. With the appearance of the Philippites, not only in Moravia but throughout Austria and Southwest Germany, a fifth group enters the arena of history, and I am sure that still other Anabaptists groups will be distinguished as research becomes more detailed and new sources are discovered.

The story of the Philippites must be pieced together from a number of sources: (1) The Hutterite Chronicle, a careful reading of which will reveal much more than on would expect; (2) Thirty-four epistles by Peter Riedemann have recently been discovered (extant only in one Hutterite codex of 1566 preserved at a Bruderhof in Montana) which contain quite significant information concerning this group. It is surprising to learn that long after the disappearance of Plener the Philippites had become a major concern of the

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Hutterites and in particular of Peter Riedemann. (3) In one of the numerous, as yet little studied, Hutterite manuscript books, a choice tract coming from the Philippites was discovered almost thirty years ago but in its isolation has not received the attention it deserves. Thus, even though no Philippite records proper survived, it is possible to trace quite clearly the growth and (half a generation later) collapse of this group.

Philipp Plener

Its leader was Philipp Plener (or Blauärmel, as he was called for the blue sleeves of his coat), coming most likely from Bruchsal im Kraichgau (Baden) or near by. About 1526/7 he was won for Anabaptism, most likely in Strasbourg, and he now became active in his home district, preaching the new birth and baptizing upon faith; thus he won his strongest collaborators—Blasius (Blasy) Kuhn (or Khumauff, as the Passau records call him),[1] Hans Gentner, Michel Schneider, and many more, as shown by the published records of Baden. At one time (1530-1531) the Bruchsal congregation is said to have numbered around 500. But Plener was no longer there; in 1527 he went to Augsburg where he was active for several months, then to Moravia where he joined the group of Gabriel Ascherham, the Silesian Anabaptist, at Rossitz. Newcomers from Southwest Germany increased their number, and Plener decided to start a settlement of his own, a Bruderhof, on the grounds of the Abbess of Maria Sall (Brno) at Auspitz. In 1531 Blasius Kuhn arrived with the remnants of the Bruchsal congregation (driven out by persecution), reportedly numbering 2,000 souls. Ever since 1529 the brethren had lived in Bruderhofs, that is, in a sort of emergency community of goods.[2]

There were now three groups in Moravia who lived in this way: the Gabrielites (mostly Silesians) in Rossitz, the Philippites (mostly Southwest Germans, from Württemberg, Baden, Alsace, and the Palatinate) in Auspitz, and the Tyroleans, under the leadership of Siegmund Schützinger, also in Auspitz, Ascherham being a sort of bishop over all three.[3] In 1533 Jakob Hutter arrived for the second

1 Blasius Kuhn's name is recorded in quite a variety of forms. The *Geschicht-Buch der Hutterischen Brüder*, ed. Rudolf Wolkan (Vienna, 1923) (hereafter and in the text called Chronicle, or *GB*) has Blasius Kuhn (*GB*, 91), Blasy Kuhn, or "Plass" (*GB*, 78). In the *Passauer Religionsakten* (note 7) he is called Khumbauff; it is not known which is the correct form. The *Religionsakten* also name a Michel Khumbauff, perhaps his brother. Blasius comes from the area of Speyer, Germany, was active as an Anabaptist around Bruchsal 1527-1530, and arrived in Auspitz, Moravia, 1530/1. Zieglschmid in the Index of his edition of the *Geschicht-Buch* (*Die älteste Chronik*, 1943) has confused two different persons named Blasius. Only pp. 108, 125, and 147 pertain to Blasius Kuhn.

2 The idea of community of goods as a basic Christian principle, as "brotherly love in action" as it was sometimes called, was not developed until the reorganization of the Hutterite brotherhood by Jakob Huter in 1533.

3 A fourth group in Moravia, not communistic, was called the "Swiss Brethren." Cf. Friedmann, "Christian Sectarians . . . ," *MQR* XXIX (1955) 63, also note 17.

time from the Tyrol, planning to stay in Moravia for good (actually he stayed little more than two years). Being a genuine leader, both spiritually and by way of his gift for organization, he naturally tried to mold the group according to his vision. Soon conflicts arose, and a regrettable split (*Zerspaltung*) took place.[4] How much contact actually existed between these three groups in the ensuing years of 1533-1535 is not known. The Chronicle, to be sure, laments that the Philippites were most unco-operative; wherever Philippites and Hutterites worked side by side on manorial estates, the Philippites refused to sit with the Hutterites at meals or greet them on the streets.[5] Nevertheless later on (1537, 1538, 1539, 1541, and 1545) large numbers of Gabrielites and Philippites joined the Hutterites, which seems to indicate that the Hutterite strength and strictness had deeply impressed them. The Riedemann correspondence shows that the issue was discussed on and on, Plener now being denounced a false brother and a seducer, as is, alas, familiar in the history of sectarianism. Contacts, however, continued; for a Philippite tract strayed into a Hutterite codex (one only). Also Riedemann's concern for the group in Upper Austria, recorded in the Chronicle, proves the continuation of such contacts up to the fusion in 1541. That the writer of the Chronicle, Caspar Braitmichel, speaks rather favorably of these brethren is another argument; hopes were always afoot for an eventual union.

In 1535 Moravia experienced its first period of serious Anabaptist hunting. Ferdinand of Austria (the future emperor) was able to prevail over the lords, and thus everywhere the brethren were driven from their flourishing Bruderhofs. The Abbess of Maria Saal was among the first to do so. Thus a period of great suffering set in (1535-1537). Gabriel Ascherham decided to return with his group to his native Silesia (adjacent to Moravia); here he kept the group more or less together until his death in 1545, when the greater part of the Gabrielites joined the Hutterian Brethren in Moravia. But the Hutterites, in spite of a period of great misery, decided to endure it in Moravia. Although Hutter himself (having written a moving letter to the governor of Moravia, though without results) returned to the Tyrol to continue his work, the brotherhood was kept together under the new leadership of Hans Amon, also a Tyrolean, and in due time they were able to settle again on several manorial estates. The group of Philipp Plener, who was assisted by the able Blasy Kuhn, likewise faced this predicament. The Chronicle, understand-

4 The Chronicle is most elaborate on this event, being naturally partisan in this case.
5 *GB*, 94 ff.

ably not too friendly to this schismatic group, records that a crowd of perhaps four hundred Philippites camped in the open on a hill. Plener and Kuhn went hither and thither on horseback looking for another place to settle. When they could not find any, they told the crowd that everyone should look out for himself as best he could. "Thus they are looking to this day," continues Braitmichel, "have not found place nor shelter, [Plener and Kuhn] were like false shepherds who allowed the sheep to be dispersed among the wolves."[6]

That is the last record of Plener and Kuhn. Of the fate of those who on their way back to Württemberg, Baden, and the Palatinate were caught at Passau and imprisoned there for many years, the Chronicle also makes brief mention; otherwise it concentrates naturally on the story of the Hutterites. From the standpoint of a historian, of course this faint picture of Plener obtained from an opposing group is most likely not quite just. In the trial records of Passau[7] there is no complaint concerning Plener's behavior, and there is good reason to assume that he actually did not abandon his flock, even though records are missing. That Philippite Brethren existed in many parts of Western Germany until the mid 1540's justifies the conjecture that Plener had actually returned to Baden (or thereabouts) with a group, but that he died or was martyred soon thereafter. In Riedemann's epistles nothing is said about him though much is said about the Philippite Brethren.

The Philippite Brethren

There can be no doubt that such a group existed not only in Moravia but also in Upper Austria and later in a number of South German territories; no doubt also they were genuine Anabaptists, with a strong spiritual life, ready to accept martyrdom wherever a clash with hostile governments should occur. Since so little has hitherto been known it may be best to divide their story according to countries.

(*a*) *Moravia, 1527 (or 1529)–1535 (or 1538).* Plener arrived in Moravia sometime in 1527 but probably did not establish a Bruderhof before 1529. The Chronicle reports at least two places where they lived, viz., Auspitz, as already noted, and Pulgram near Eisgrub, of which we learn more or less by chance. Only the Auspitz community left Moravia in 1535, while the Pulgram people apparently

6 *GB,* 109

7 These are the *Passauer Religionsakten* preserved in the Reichsarchiv of Munich, Germany. Rudolf Wolkan used these records for the first time extensively for his *Lieder der Wiedertäufer* (Berlin, 1903). Unfortunately, in spite of all the numerous *Täuferakten* publications the *Passauer Akten* have not yet been made known and, at present, there are no plans for working on this project. See Wolkan, *Lieder,* 30 ff.

weathered the first attack of persecution and continued to live communally until 1538. Then, being without a true shepherd, they approached the Hutterites[8] concerning a possible fusion of the two groups, which was eventually accomplished. On this occasion the Chronicle records that several houses were transferred into Hutterite possession: the bakery, the school, the smithy, several dormitories, and the house of the charcoal burner. This remark indicates that the pattern of communal living was exactly the same in both groups, making a merger simple and welcome.

The major group, however, must have been the one at Auspitz, where Philipp Plener was the bishop (*Vorsteher*) and Blasy Kuhn his assistant. Only indirectly can the life of this congregation be reconstructed. Their relationship to the Hutterites was odd; on at least two occasions a brother excommunicated by the Hutterites was welcomed by the Philippites. The first such case was Adam Schlegel, who joined the Moravian Anabaptists around 1529, Jakob Wideman then being the leader. In the summer of 1531 it was discovered that Schlegel, a minister of the Word, was allowing certain liberties in the congregation (the Chronicle speaks of *fleischliche Freiheiten,* which may mean anything beyond hard work), and was giving offense (*sich anstössig und ärgerlich bewiesen)* perhaps by criticizing certain practices, and was thereupon expelled from the brotherhood. He apparently turned to the Philippites of Auspitz where he was kindly received and made a minister of the Word, perhaps even Vorsteher. The *Passauer Religionsakten* (see above) report that a number of the Philippite Brethren later seized at Passau had been baptized by Schlegel. Nothing is known about his later fate.

The second case of such a transfer is that of Hans Both[9] of Hesse. (The details of this complicated story are omitted.) The Chronicle[10] relates that in 1533 he arrived in Moravia with a group of Hessian brethren and soon joined the Hutterites, handing over to them all they possessed. But very soon it was found out that he had ideas so foreign to the Hutterite way of thinking that no true fellowship was possible. Hans Both seems to have leaned strongly toward the "spiritualistic wing" among the Anabaptists, somewhat in the line of his friend Melchior Rinck. Thus, still in 1533, Both and all those who sided with him were expelled from the brotherhood and subsequently joined the Philippite group. They apparently remained there until their emigration from Moravia; at this juncture he separated from them and returned to Hesse. In later correspondence (1537 f) with

8 *GB,* 142 ff.
9 About Hans Both see article by Christian Neff in *Mennonite Encyclopedia,* I, 1955.
10 *GB,* 101

brethren in Hesse the Hutterites complained about Bothansen (as he was usually called) and the confusion he had created in Moravia.[11]

Of other members of the Auspitz congregation (*Gemein*) we learn mainly through the *Passauer Religionsakten:* Hans Haffner of Riblingen near Schwäbisch-Hall, was baptized in 1533 by Adam Schlegel; Hans Rümmich of Marbach, also near Schwäbisch-Hall, had been with the Bruchsal group before, but was baptized in Auspitz by Blasy Kuhn. Michel Schneider of Bruchsal, who was later to become a leader, had apparently not yet assumed any leading function. There were Brethren from Franconia (Atzersweiler) and Württemberg (Lauingen, Gibichen), from the free city of Heilbronn and the bishopric of Speyer, from Baden (Bruchsal, Durlach) and Swabia (Donauwörth, Eichstedt, Schwäbisch-Hall), and from the Palatinate. One of these men deserves special attention for his hymns, which not only fill pages of the *Ausbund* but also of the Hutterite *Liederbuch:* Hans Betz or Petz, a woolweaver from Eger in the German part of Bohemia, baptized at Donauwörth in 1530 and a member of the Auspitz congregation for about one year prior to the persecutions. He died in the Passau dungeon in 1537; surprisingly the Chronicle expressly mentions his death and calls him "ein evangelischer Diener." His relationship to the Hutterites is not clear, nor how it happened that some of his hymns found their way into several Hutterite hymnals. Another brother deserving mention was Burkhard Bämerle, apparently of Swabian descent. First he had been with the Philippites in Auspitz, then returned to Swabia where he joined the "Swiss Brethren" and became a minister of the Word, and finally came back to Moravia and in 1542 united with the Hutterites, being accepted by them also as a minister of the Word. He experienced severe persecution afterwards, but was rescued and returned to the brotherhood; in 1567 he died peacefully. Hans Gentner, a carpenter of Sulzfeld, Kreis Eppingen, Baden,[12] was likewise most active in the propagation of the Gospel. A record of 1537 reports that the prisoners admitted that they had been baptized by him.[13] He must have been with the Auspitz group, then returned to Württemberg or Baden; but in 1538 he was again in Moravia with a few other Philippites negotiating a union with the Hutterites. Later he was a close friend of Peter Riedemann; about his activities as a missioner more will be said in a later section.

11 *GB,* 102, note, with excerpts from epistles concerning Hans Both. Cf. also Günther Franz, *Urkundliche Quellen zur hessischen Reformationsgeschichte. Wiedertäuferakten* (Marburg 1951), one epistle by Hans Amon.

12 Concerning Hans Gentner, see article by G. Bossert, Sr., *ME* II (1956).

13 Manfred Krebs, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Täufer, Baden und Pfalz* (Gütersloh, 1951), 495.

It is most unfortunate that no documents have been preserved of this group but the one devotional tract which by some strange circumstances found its way into one Hutterite codex. Its author is Hans Haffner of Riblingen; the contents of the tract will be discussed in another section of this study. The beautiful hymns of the oldest part of the *Ausbund* go back to these brethren; it may be correctly assumed that much more of a devotional nature must have been produced by these brethren. But it is lost and there is no record to tell either the agony or the victory of these men and women who had accepted the path of discipleship under the leadership of Philipp Plener and his co-worker.

(*b*) *Upper Austria to 1541.* Almost nothing has been known about this second group of Philippites, and the official records (*Täuferakten*) are meager and unrevealing.[14] It was, of course, known that there were Anabaptists in this Hapsburg country,[15] and there are frequent references in the Chronicle to groups in this country. But the reconstruction of their story is burdened with uncertainties and conjectures. Upper Austria, officially called the "Land ob der Enns," was then smaller than today, the fertile Inn district still belonging to the Duchy of Bavaria. Its major cities were Linz, the seat of the provincial administration, Steyr, the center of steel industry, Freistadt in the north, Gmunden in the south, Vöklabruck in the "Attergau," the birthplace of Leonhard Schiemer, and Wels, where Christoph Freisleben (or Eleutherobios)[16] had been active as a schoolteacher.

The first or at least strongest apostle of the Anabaptists in this area was Hans Hut; his work was exceedingly successful for about two years, 1527-1529. He won Leonhard Schiemer and Hans Schlaffer, Ambrosius Spittelmayer and Wolfgang Brandhuber; everywhere incipient brotherhoods were established if not by Hut himself, at least indirectly under his spiritual guidance.[17] Also Peter Riedemann no doubt joined one of these groups about this time. It was a short flowering of Anabaptism; the harshest measures by the government of Ferdinand of Hapsburg nipped this movement almost in the bud. All the men mentioned fell victims to this concerted effort of eradication. The last one was Wolfgang Brandhuber, burned at the stake at Linz in 1529. Riedemann escaped death but was imprisoned in Gmunden from 1529 to 1532; it is not known how he obtained freedom. In any case he joined the Hutterite group in Moravia in 1532.

14 Dr. Grete Mecenseffy, at present working on the Austrian "Täuferakten," a special expert on Upper Austria in the sixteenth century, informs me that her material reveals next to nothing about these later Anabaptist groups.

15 Compare the article "Oberösterreich" by P. Dedic, *ML* III, 285-288, and Grete Mecenseffy, "Die Herkunft des oberösterreichischen Täufertums," in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, XLVII (1956) 252-258.

16 On Eleutherobios, see my article, *ME* II (1956) 183 f.

17 See Grete Mecenseffy's study named in note 15.

After 1530 little is heard about Anabaptist activities. Archive records yield no clear picture, and in the North (e.g., in Freistadt) the movement seems to have died out, most likely due to the lack of leadership. Whoever turned Anabaptist in these years emigrated to Moravia; a blight had fallen upon this country once so alert and active. Then, surprisingly, the Chronicle says for the year 1537 that Philippite Brethren were living in Linz, Steyr, and Gmunden, and (known from another source) also in the Attergau. Peter Riedemann visited these diverse groups on his return from nearly four years of imprisonment in Nürnberg.[18] The Chronicle reports that these groups in Steyr and elsewhere complained to him about the split between the Hutterites and Philippites in 1533 and wanted to know further details. Riedemann, not too familiar with these events, took with him two men that they might inquire into the story in Moravia themselves.

Where do these Upper Austrian Philippites, whose story runs from 1537 to 1541, come from? Caspar Braitmichel, our only source thus far, speaks of these brethren in the friendliest terms (in contrast to his attitude to Plener and the conflict of 1533), at one place calling them "our coreligionists" (*Glaubensgenossen*).[19] Likewise, Riedemann appeared as their fatherly counselor and shepherd and cared for them as for his own "little children."[20] Throughout the years he felt deeply responsible for their spiritual welfare and visited them as often as possible.

Several hypotheses concerning their origin could be considered: (*a*) That Plener himself established such groups in 1527 on his way from Bavaria to Moravia, in a sense as rival groups to Hans Hut's activities. This possibility has small likelihood in view of the severe persecutions and the obvious gap in records between 1530 and 1537. (*b*) That Philippites expelled in 1535 from Moravia and on their way back westward settled down in Upper Austria, at least for the time being. This hypothesis does not appear very probable in view of their origin. If not Moravia, then why not Western Germany, their homeland? Actually many (though not all) reached their old territories, as will be told in the next section. Hence there remains only one third conjecture (*c*), that in the years 1531-1534/5 Philippite Brethren of Moravia had started missionary activities like all other Anabaptists and established indigenous brotherhoods in the cities of Upper Austria. Certainly also the Hutterites were busy sending missioners (*Sendboten*) out into many countries, but somehow

18 *GB*, 133
19 *GB*, 154
20 *GB*, 135

the Philippites were more successful here than the Hutterites. If this conjecture is correct, we are here dealing with younger congregations who were, of course, ignorant of the quarrels in Moravia in 1533. Riedemann, himself never involved in these quarrels, would in such a case be the ideal middleman and being an outstanding spiritual leader could now (after 1535) provide these leaderless groups with counsel and even some authority.

Riedemann's first epistle to this group names at least two of the Upper Austrian group: Wolfgang Wimmer and Wolfgang Brandhuber.[21] The latter name is identical with that of the outstanding leader at Linz who had died in 1529.[22] Since in Austrian lands it is customary to give the firstborn son the father's first name, it is my guess that this Wolf Brandhuber was the oldest son of the former leader of the Linz congregation. Thus the likelihood of Philippite missionary work among the scattered remnants of the former congregations suggests itself, and a sort of underground continuity is most probable. However, neither Wimmer nor Brandhuber was a leader or shepherd in the sense of early Anabaptist requirements, hence their urgent call in 1537 to the Hutterites to help them bring their "Gemeinde" back into good order (no Anabaptist church could exist without inner discipline, based on ordained authority). It was a call to the only possible group able to help: the Hutterites. And thus Riedemann wrote in the first epistle to these brethren around Linz, Steyr, and Gmunden, found in the Chronicle for the year 1537,[23] "I understood your desire that you want me to come to set your brotherhood right again since it is now so disorderly . . . [but at this moment it is not possible for me to come]." And then he reminded them of "those who have preached the Word of God to you, among whom also I myself have served you as a father serves his children."[24] But soon thereafter, perhaps early in 1538, Riedemann did find an opportunity to come down from Moravia to visit these scattered communities, and we now read: "He re-established among them the true church (Gemeinde), appointed elders at different places and ordered whatever was in need of ordering. Then he returned. The elders of the Hutterite church, however, delegated another brother, Simon Weindl, to look after the congregations in Linz and Steyr and to give them advice."[25]

21 *GB*, 135

22 Both Wolkan and Zieglschmid erroneously list the two as the same man. Zieglschmid on page 176 refers back to page 65, although on page 65 the death of Brandhuber is recorded. Obviously father and son are confused.

23 *GB*, 135-138

24 *GB*, 135

25 *GB*, 138

Several questions might here be raised: (1) Why did these men not insist on an organic union of the two groups, as they did a few years later? (2) Did these groups live in a communal fashion like the Hutterites and Philippites back in Moravia, or rather on a private property basis like the Swiss Brethren? No definite answer is possible. At first an organic unification seems not to have been visualized; Caspar Braitmichel always speaks of the "Philippites" in Upper Austria, though invariably in a most brotherly fashion, never reproaching them for their separation, nor saying anything concerning the ordering of their economic set-up. The wording: "Er richtete bei ihnen die Gemein wieder an,"[26] suggests that Braitmichel thought of this Gemein as being similar to his own Moravian Gemein, that is Bruderhof fashion. But these people were apparently city dwellers and not farmers, and obviously communal living would be much harder and arouse much more opposition in places like Steyr or Linz than on manorial estates of Moravia. On the other hand the Philippites in Western Germany were reproached precisely for their "loving private property,"[27] which would suggest that this was not the case in Linz or Steyr. We do not know the answer and leave the possibility open that some form of communal organization was actually practiced among these groups.

In 1539 and 1540 Riedemann visited these brethren again[27a] on journeys to Hesse. Between the visits he wrote two more epistles to these congregations, extant in the Hutterite codex of 1566, mentioned in the introduction and formerly not known to historians. They are documents of a true shepherd, full of concern and fatherly admonition, even though Riedemann had never been ordained as their bishop. The Chronicle also records another visit by two Hutterite brothers, Leonhard Lanzenstiel and Christoph Gschäl, who went to Linz "zu ihres Glaubens Genossen."[28]

More significant was a return visit of several of the Philippite Brethren in 1539. They came to Steinabrunn (in Austria, near the Moravian border) to inquire into the Hutterite way of life,[29] apparently with the intention of a final union or merger of the two groups.[30] It was to be a fateful meeting: unwittingly they had run into a trap. The meeting was scheduled for December 6, 1539, and about 150 brethren of both groups had assembled when all of a sud-

26 *GB*, 138
27 *GB*, 146, 149, 152
27a *GB*, 150
28 *GB*, 154
29 *GB*, 156
30 The Chronicle does not say expressly where they had come from but the context strongly suggests that they came from Upper Austria. Otherwise the Chronicle would have said so; cf. *GB*, 145.

den the place was surrounded by the soldiers of the Imperial Provost Dietrich von Hartitsch;[31] the 150 men were led in chains to the near-by castle of Falckenstein. The story is well known and details need not be retold here.[32]

In spite of all brotherly care, the situation in Upper Austria unfortunately did not improve, and soon again there was "disorder" among the communities, as well as new oppressive measures by the authorities. On February 11, 1541, a new mandate against the Anabaptists of Steyr was published.[33] Under these precarious conditions the Hutterites in Moravia, unable to supply leadership to these brethren, decided to urge them emphatically to leave Upper Austria and join the brotherhood in Moravia. We have a fine epistle by the Vorsteher Hans Amon to these brethren of the year 1541 in which this proposal is elaborated upon in unequivocal terms as is befitting a bishop.[34] The Chronicle, apparently using this letter as its source, relates[35] that Christoph Gschäl was dispatched from Moravia to Upper Austria with his message. It aroused much opposition, by three men in particular, Simon Schneider, Anderle Kupferschmied, and Antony Kupferschmied. "Is your church so poor," they asked, "that there is not one minister of yours to whom such a service [with us] could be entrusted?" They implied that with some good intention and effort such a man could be found, and the congregational life in Steyr could continue. They said nothing about the threats by the authorities. The Chronicle[36] also tells the origin of the "disorder." The first difficulty was that the congregation of Steyr had acquired an inn near by so that "the believers would have a place to rest and eat."[37] Innkeeping, however, was expressly forbidden in

31 Provost means here about "head of military police." See my article "Austria," *ME* I, p. 195, and Loserth's article "Hartitsch," *ME* II, 667 f.

32 John Horsch, *The Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1938: A Story of Martyrdom and Loyalty* (Goshen, 1931) p. 44 f.; also *GB*, 156 ff., and note on p. 156

33 *ML III*, 318 (Loserth's article "Oesterreich").

34 Hans Amon, "Sendbrief aus Mähren an die Gemeinde in Steyr in Oberösterreich und and die Gemein im Land ob der Enns, wo sie im Attergau und andern Orten hin und wieder zerstreut ist." (Codex Ab 5 Budapest, Un Bibliothek, item 16; cf. also *GB*, 177 note). This epistle, written in 1540, was brought to the Upper Austrian brotherhood by Christoph Gschäl. Its main contents say about this: "Hans, euer Bruder im Herren, . . . den berufenen Heiligen und auserwählten Zeugen Gottes, unsren lieben Geschwistriget im Herren . . . euer Mitgenoss und Bruder im Herren. Wollte Gott, ihr hättet einen frommen Diener und wäret wohl versorget und bliebet darnach oben [in Upper Austria]. Man wird euch aber nit bleiben lassen als an anderen Orten [actually on Feb. 11, 1541, a new imperial mandate was published which started new persecutions]. Weil man aber selten Versammlung hält . . . und man das Wort des Herren nit täglich hört, wird man abnehmen und nit wachsen. Wir begehren beisammen zu sein, . . . und darum befehlen wir euch im Herren, dass ihr die, so die Gesandten von der Gemeinde [such as Gschäl] nit haben hören wollen, nach dem Rate Gottes meiden sollt und nichts mit ihnen zu schaffen habt." The entire epistle is a strong plea to join the church in Moravia.

35 *GB*, 176

36 *GB*, 177

37 Dedic in his article "Oberösterreich," *ML* III, 287, reads the passage this way. Adam Fichter was made the "Wirt" (innkeeper) of the place. This interpretation seems to be correct even though in Hutterite parlance "Wirt" usually means steward (called in the present-day American Bruderhofs "boss"). Apparently, however, Steinbach near Steyr was not a Bruderhof but only a sort of "rest-stop" for the brethen, an inn or tavern.

Riedemann's *Rechenschaft* of 1540 as unfitting for committed Christians. Secondly, the Steyr brotherhood had apparently promised to support a call by the authorities for recruits and war taxes against the Turks. The Hutterites in Moravia, aroused by all these breaks in discipline, decided to send still another delegation to Steyr, this time no less than fourteen brethren, who were to straighten all these deviations, punish those who had brought about this disorder, and finally to tell them that it was the opinion of the brotherhood that they should no longer stay in Upper Austria uncared for. Those who believed the truth should come to Moravia at once and join the church there. A small part[38] of the Steyr group actually came; the greater part, however, turned "worldly," or as the Chronicle expresses it, "sind verronnen und haben sich der Welt zugesellt." Thus the community and assembly in Upper Austria came to an end in 1541.

(*c*) *Philippite Brethren in Western Germany, 1535-1543 (or 1545)*—For the year 1538 there is a striking entry in the Chronicle which has not yet been given attention by historians:

> While the Philippites developed their communities in Württemberg, along the Rhine in the Palatinate, and under the Margrave of Baden, also in [Upper] Austria and Moravia, it so happened that some among them, cleaving after the best and most perfect [in life], decided to visit the church of the true believers [Hutterites]. Thus they delegated one of their midst by the name of Hans Gentner to have talks with our Elders. . . . When he was instructed and saw our life, he and a few others with him decided to join the church of God, and he thus united with us in every regard.[39]

Subsequent to this noteworthy visit Peter Riedemann wrote a letter to the "Philippite Brethren wherever they dwell all over the country,"[40] inviting them to follow the example of their brother Hans Gentner and explaining in greater detail the principle and working of community of goods and why the Hutterites continued to practice it. In the same year (1539) Riedemann was sent to Hesse, and on his way he contacted these brethren in Württemberg and Baden.[41] This the extent of the printed sources.

The codex of 1566, still unpublished and undiscussed, which contains all of Riedemann's epistles, a total of 34, has fortunately three more sources pertaining to our subject. One of these epistles, of 1540, is a report to Hans Amon about the meeting with Philippites in Heilbronn[42] where a semi-official Philippite conference had convened; two of the epistles are pastoral letters addressed to the Philip-

38 *GB*, 177
39 *GB*, 145
40 *GB*, 146-149: "An die Philippischen Brüder hin und wieder."
41 Report in a letter by Riedemann to Hans Amon, *GB*, 152
42 Heilbronn was a free city until 1802, now it belongs to Württemberg.

pites "im Reich," apparently the group roughly described in the 1538 entry of the Chronicle.

This is the new information: the Philippites had by no means disappeared after their exodus from Moravia in 1535, and those caught at Passau in that year (see below, section *d*) represented only a fraction of all returnees who were seeking new opportunities for God's kingdom in their old home countries. There are no records of this return; but it may still be possible to reconstruct these events.— When the Auspitz congregation (roughly 400 souls) was convinced that there was no future for them in Moravia (even though this was a false conclusion, as is demonstrated by the Hutterites and the Pulgram Philippites) the congregation broke up into several groups. One, most likely under Plener himself, returned to Swabia and Baden,[43] another went to the Palatinate, Speyer (Blasy Kuhn's home), Worms, and perhaps even Strasbourg. A third one, most likely the old Bruchsal group, some 60 persons, took the road along the Danube toward Bavaria, and was caught near Passau. Their story will be told in a next section. Whether or not some of these returnees stopped or even remained in Upper Austria we do not know, but it does not appear probable. As the sources named above suggest, a great majority seem to have reached their destination, and thus a new Anabaptist brotherhood life started in West Germany, but this time certainly not along the former communal pattern of Moravia. Nevertheless, these widely spread groups remained "Philippites" and at first showed no intention of fusing with "Swiss" Brethren in the same area. In fact some of these Philippites seem to have considered rather seriously a return to Moravia and closer ties with the Hutterites. Three years after the exodus, in 1538, a small delegation arrived in Moravia,[44] allegedly those "die sonderlich dem Besten und Vollkommenen nachgetrachtet,"[45] and eventually united with the main body of Hutterites.

The leader and the only man whose name is known of the West German Philippites is Hans Gentner, mentioned earlier, a carpenter formerly of Sulzfeld, Kreis Eppingen.[46] Soon he was to gain a certain prominence among his new Hutterite brethren. He had been won for the Anabaptist way in Baden in 1527, most likely by either Plener or Blasy Kuhn. In Moravia he had been a minister of the Word from 1531 to 1535; then he returned to Germany for awhile, but eventual-

43 Plener's fate is unknown.

44 Though the Chronicle does not say where they came from, this delegation was certainly from the Empire (Reich) and not from Upper Austria like the 1539 Steinabrunn delegation (above, note 30).

45 *GB*, 145

46 Article "Hans Gentner" by Bossert, *ME* II, 475; his name appears also occasionally in Krebs, *op. cit.*

ly came back to his erstwhile field of activity, joining the Hutterite brotherhood in 1538. Soon after that Riedemann composed an epistle to Gentner's former co-religionists "im Reich" with a plea to follow Gentner's example. Gentner was eager to take this epistle to his people and to tell them of the more perfect communal life in Moravia. But the Hutterite elders felt that it would be better for him to stay at a Moravian Bruderhof for awhile in order to grow into a true fellowship. Thus the letter was entrusted to someone else. But Gentner had a restless disposition and was soon on the road again as a missioner of the Hutterites, in 1539, 1540, 1541, and 1543, always to Württemberg and Swabia, promoting Hutterite principles among the scattered Philippites, with apparently but moderate success. When Riedemann, also an aggressive worker in the field, was imprisoned in Hesse, Gentner was dispatched to visit him and talk over with him problems and difficulties at home. In one epistle of 1539 Riedemann reported complaints of Philippites regarding Gentner's handling of money matters; in fact, Riedemann guessed that if Gentner were considering a return to the Philippites now they would have excommunicated him.[47] He did not elaborate on this point, however, and the fact that Gentner made four more extended trips into Germany and was in good standing in Moravia may remove the reported blemish in his character.[48]

In 1539, according to Loserth,[49] the Philippites in West Germany desired to find a basis for an organic union among themselves, the Hutterites, and the Swiss Brethren. For this purpose Gentner traveled in the "Oberland" (Baden and the Rhine area, the Palatinate) negotiating with the groups, although without any concrete results. The stumbling block was the Hutterite teaching of community of goods, unacceptable to the Swiss Brethren. The Philippites, who knew the life of the Bruderhof, were apparently now also cool to this plan. But Loserth's thesis that the plan of unification originated with the Philippites and that Gentner was their negotiator seems to be based on a misinterpretation of certain sources. In 1539 Gentner was a Hutterite and the unification plan came obviously from the most aggressive group, the Hutterites.[50] After the death of Hans Amon in 1542, Gentner shared the guidance of the entire brotherhood with Lanzenstiel, until Riedemann could come back and take

47 *GB*, 152

48 Bossert (note 46) seems to have misread this passage. Unfortunately he does not give any reference as to his source and we actually do not know the particulars of this affair.

49 In his article "Philipper," *ML* III, 368

50 Dr. Jan Kiwiet claims that such a movement toward unification of all Anabaptist groups did actually take place in Strasbourg in 1555 under the leadership of Pilgram Marbeck. But by that time the Philippite Brethren had already disappeared and merged with the Swiss Brethren. Not much is known concerning Marbeck's success.

it over.[51] In 1545 Gentner went to Silesia to promote a union with the former Gabrielites (followers of Gabriel Ascherham), a mission of greatest success. Finally, for the year 1548, the Chronicle reports that this untiring brother passed away peacefully on a Bruderhof at Schaikowitz, Moravia. No age is given on this occasion.[52]

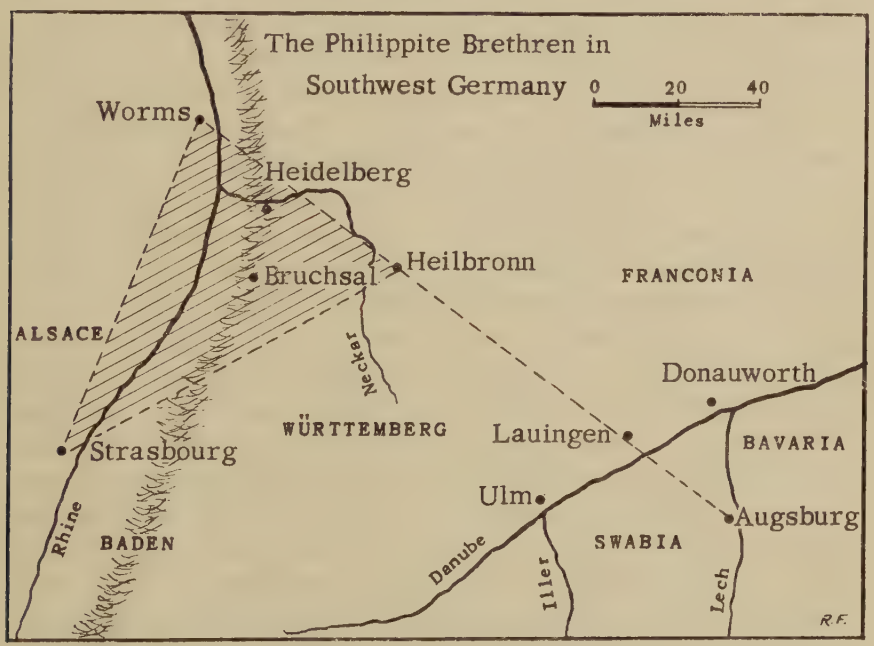
As to the success of Gentner's and Riedemann's work among the Philippites in Württemberg and Baden nothing is known. Although the Chronicle reports[53] that in 1540 the various workers in the field, among them Gentner, brought back a large crowd (*ein grosses Volk*) to the church in Moravia, it is not possible to gauge the effectiveness of the individual mission. Not too many Philippites seem to have come back, and it may not be wrong to assume the Hutterite principle of community of goods as the major obstacle. Some brothers were particularly attracted by it, while others were repelled. Of course, this was a point of great concern in all Hutterite mission work. It is on this point that we find the most outspoken criticism of the Philippites. "As they recoiled from grasping the more perfect [way of life]," Braitmichel wrote,[54] "they chose property over against resignation (*Gelassenheit*),[55] and their utility and profit over against Christian community [of goods]." And Peter Riedemann, in 1537/8 already a prominent personality among the Moravian Hutterites, twice sent letters to these groups in Western Germany full of admonition and exhortation,[56] telling them all the reasons for the schism of 1533 which in part centered around this question of community of goods. He enumerated no less than nine points on which Hutter was right and Plener wrong.[57] "When I took leave from you," he writes, "I left you in unity and peace, but now you are disunited . . . and have become the pupils of the devil." We may assume that it was this group which had delegated Hans Gentner, but neither this brother nor Riedemann was able to make them understand "that no one should live for himself [that is after conversion and selfdedication to the way of discipleship] but all should live for God and His dear children, should serve and work on equal basis [in a communal way]." And again: "Those who separated from us shunned Christian obedience, love, and community and fell back into the practice of private property and owning their homes, leaving the house of the

51 *GB*, 179
52 *GB*, 242
53 *GB*, 165
54 *GB*, 146
55 Cf. Friedmann, "Gelassenheit," *ME* II, 449; with the Hutterites this term meant surrender also of the things material in a God-dedicated life.
56 The first one, 1537/8, addressed to the Brethren "im Reich" (i.e., Württemberg, Baden, Palatinate), is extant as manuscript only, in the above mentioned Codex of 1566, the other one of 1538 is published as part of the Chronicle, *GB*, 146-149.
57 *GB*, 148 f.

Lord [the *Gemeinde* both as church and brotherhood] deserted and waste."[58]

Soon thereafter Riedemann was on another of his numerous missionary trips. From Hesse he sent home two epistles reporting his experiences. One of them, addressed personally to Hans Amon, is printed in the Chronicle;[58a] the other, addressed to the church in Moravia, is found only in the codex of 1566. Both epistles are to be dated 1539. The epistle to Amon relates that Riedemann on his way to Hesse had stopped in Lauingen, Württemberg, to visit the "Swiss Brethren."[59] "Then we came to the Philippites," he continues, "and talked over our conflicts [the schism of 1533], but now it seems that we have reason for good hope for mutual understanding."[60] But, alas, the topic of community of goods arose and with it new reasons for misunderstanding and disunity. "They balked at the principle of community (*sie sperrten sich aber an der Gemeinschaft*)."[61] They parted without having completed their (spiritual) business. And yet contacts and conversations continued.

The other, still unpublished, epistle to the church in Moravia contains further revealing information: here Riedemann mentioned



58 *GB*, 149
58a *GB*, 150 ff.
59 *GB*, 151. This letter relates the strange case of one who claimed revelations and by this authority removed brethren from their office of ministry.
60 *GB*, 152
61 *GB*, 152

his visit at the Philippite conference at Heilbronn[62] where many brethren from all over West Germany had convened. "Here we found them all together, particularly those from Strasbourg and all around, but those from Worms had already left when we came. Later, however, others from Worms arrived too." The occasion was apparently the appointment or election of new ministers and bishops, "with whom we had many a good talk. But in the end nothing was achieved" (i.e., no unification). This epistle reveals graphically the wide spread of the group and even the fact of a sort of church organization. The cities of Strasbourg and Worms are mentioned nowhere else as places of Philippite congregations. The area between Heilbronn, Lauingen, Worms, Strasbourg, and Bruchsal was the main district of Philipp Plener's early activities in the 1520's. His group, mainly Swabians and Badensians, had returned and now continued their Anabaptist life and piety as they had formerly been taught. No particular leader is named and no document of the group has come to light.

The Hutterite codex of 1566 contains still a third epistle by Riedemann to the brethren "im Reich" sent from Schaikowitz, Moravia; no year is given but it must be dated between 1542 and 1545.[63] No doubt these brethren are the same whom he had spoken to on his trip of 1539. Like most of the Riedemann epistles, this is a genuine pastoral letter, in spite of all differences exhorting and admonishing the brethren to remain steadfast in their faith. He addressed his words to the "Auserwählten und unsere herzlieben Brüder," whom he challenged not to slacken in their diligence towards God and to serve each other with devotion and love. The concluding paragraph of greetings from the entire church in Moravia, naming individual brethren, justifies the assumption that friendly, even brotherly relationships continued until about the middle of the 1540's.[64]

There are no further records of contacts of any kind. What happened we can only guess. It is unlikely that persecution destroyed this southwestern Philippite group. More probable is the conjecture that lacking true leadership or ministry of the Word, the group finally broke up, some turning to the "World," that is, to the territorial Lutheran churches, while others, loyal to their commitments, now joined one of the numerous "Swiss" Brethren groups in that area.

62 It does not become completely clear whether the group mentioned above was identical with that of Heilbronn or was another one of Lauingen, or a third one with no location given.

63 In the numbering of Riedemann's Epistles in the planned publication of *Täuferbriefe* this one would be Epistle No. 32.

64 In 1543 Gentner went for the last time to Württemberg (*GB*, 190), but the Chronicle does not expressly state whether or not he visited his former co-religionists, although one could assume such a visit. It would then be the last record of the Philippites in Germany. After 1545 they seem to have disappeared from the records. Contact is recorded with only one brother of the Schwenckfeldian group (*GB*, 190).

After all, the differences were small once the principle of communal living had been given up. And thus the Philippite Brethren movement finally emptied into the larger stream of South German Anabaptism.

(*d*) *The Passau Group, 1535-1540.* With regard to this group there is better information. The *Passauer Religionsakten* deal with the fifty-odd Anabaptists who were caught in this Catholic episcopal see in 1535, thrown into prisons, and tortured.[65] Some died in prison, some recanted and were set free, of the rest we have no knowledge.[66] It is known that they were all Philippites, even though a generation later their hymns, sung in the dungeons of Passau castle, were published as a hymnal, not of the Philippites (who no longer existed) but of the Swiss Brethren.[67] This is, of course, not surprising since the two groups had actually merged in the 1540's.

In 1535, when small groups in Moravia were preparing for the long journey back home, Plener, in a last act as bishop of that brotherhood, ordained Michel Schneider, formerly of Bruchsal and connected with Plener since 1527, as the new Vorsteher of one of these groups--perhaps, as Christian Hege suggested, the original Bruchsal group.[68] In Moravia Schneider had had no particular function, but now he became the appointed leader,[69] and there is little doubt that Bruchsal was the destination of this group of returning Philippites. However, as the authorities had been alerted all along the Danube concerning Anabaptists from Moravia, a sort of "counter-conspiracy" reaching all over Austria and Bavaria, it is surprising that other Philippites actually reached their destination.

Of the Schneider group, however, the first group of fifteen was caught on August 15, 1535, and thrown into the Passau prison. According to the records this group consisted of Hans Haffner of Riblingen, his wife Katharina, and a young boy, Michel, who had been entrusted to this couple "von einer Freundschaft," i.e., another brother (adoptions of this kind seem to have been quite frequent in view of all the dangers), Georg Lang of Atzersweiler (Franconia) and his wife Eva, Dietrich of Heilbronn and his wife Kunigunde, Hans Hoffmann of Waldenburg near Schwäbisch-Hall, a Hans of Atzersweiler, his wife Amalia and a child, an Angela of Riblingen and a child Barbara, adopted, and a few others. Under torture Hans Haffner admitted that Michel Schneider was their Vorsteher. But he

65 Unfortunately the contents of these *Akten* are known only through Wolkan, *Lieder,* 30 ff. See remark above in note 7.

66 *GB,* 110, see note 55.

67 Cf. Harold S. Bender, "The First Edition of the *Ausbund,*" *MQR* III (1929) 147-150.

68 Ch. Hege's article "Bruchsal," *ME* I.

69 Wolkan, *Lieder,* 31

added that at Auspitz he had not been a Vorsteher, but was made one when they left.

On September 14, 1535, another group of fourteen Anabaptists were caught and interrogated, at first without torture. Among them were Bernhard Schröter of Gibichen, Württemberg, and his wife, baptized by a Hans of Bibrach; Hans of Schlüchtern in the Palatinate and his wife (also baptized by Hans of Bibrach), Michel Schwister or Schwitzer of Seytau near Speyr, baptized near Heilbronn, as was also the case with Konrad of Sittius (?), baptized by Julius Lober, Georg of Ottnis, a boy of fifteen, and a few other women.

On the same day (September 14, 1535) another preliminary interrogation is recorded when twenty newly arrested Anabaptists were brought before the episcopal authorities. Among these were Michel Khumbauf of Bruchsal, Hans Peck of Greding near Eichstedt, Oswald of Augensberg, whom Adam Schlegel had baptized, Hans Fuchs of Bruchsal, Hans Steuben of Durlach, Baden, and a rather young fellow, Bernhard Schneider of Frisingen near Lauingen, further Hans Rümmich of Marbach near Schwäbisch-Hall, and Gertrud, called Treytl, the wife of Michel Schneider (who is not listed), the woman having been baptized at Bruchsal in 1532 by Julius Lober. Lastly a Jacob from Weil (?). They all admitted that Michel Schneider was their leader, and that they came from Auspitz where they lived together in three houses, some 300-400 persons, and that they were planning to return to Baden. The last group to be interrogated on September 25 consisted of five men recently caught: Hans Petz or Betz of Eger, Bohemia, Peter Stumpheter, Mattheus of Dorffaus near Hertzogburg, and several women. Mattheus testified that he had lived not in Auspitz but in Znaim, Moravia, where about fifty brethren lived under the leadership of a Hans Kellermann (otherwise unknown).

A total of fifty-four persons is named, but the list is obviously incomplete; the Chronicle[70] figure of about sixty is doubtless trustworthy. The name of Michel Schneider, for instance, does not appear at all in the available interrogation records. Wolkan says that his records are apparently no longer in existence. But it is certain that he was one of the prisoners from the evidence in the hymns of the *Ausbund* and from the fact that his wife's name appears in the records.

Were it not for the hymns of the group there would be little to report. For the great majority there are no records to tell us of their fate. Hans Petz of Eger (about him see the section on Moravia) died

70 *GB*, 110

two years later in the Passau prison; Hans Haffner and his wife after five years recanted and were released. Of Michel Schneider nothing is known; Bernhard Schneider, the boy, died in Passau.[71] Braitmichel, however, reports that a good number of them passed away in prison, while some, after being released, returned to the Gemeinde in Moravia. For the rest, he says that they went to their own ruin; "since they did not see fit to acknowledge God, God gave them up to a base mind and to improper conduct" (Rom. 1:28).[72]

One fact is, however, definitely known; their spirit in prison was high and in most cases unbroken to the end. There is one hymn in the *Ausbund*, No. 100, with fourteen stanzas, which is the collective work of fourteen prisoners, each contributing one stanza: the first one is by Hans Betz, the third by Peter Stumpheter, the tenth by Hans Hoffmann, the eleventh by Hans Haffner, and the fourteenth by Bernhard Schneider. (The initials of the remaining nine stanzas could not be identified.) This gives us a vivid picture of days and months and years dragging on while singing and composing hymns was their only way to fill their sad leisure. That they did it together seems to indicate that most of them were imprisoned together except for a few instances which are specifically mentioned. Hymn No. 101 is the collective work of Michel Schneider and Hans Betz. All the remaining songs were composed by individuals, whose initials usually appear at the head of these hymns. A total of fifty-two hymns were composed in these dark and weird dungeons,[73] in all later *Ausbund* editions numbered 81 to 129 inclusive.[74] How they came out of this underground place to reach Swiss Brethren is not known; but Anabaptists always found ways and means of communication with those in bonds; moreover, a number of these men and women when released may have joined Swiss Brethren congregations.

Of Michael Schneider eleven hymns are in the *Ausbund*, namely the Nos. 82, 85, 87, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101 (together with Betz), 102, 103; of Hans Betz (or Petz) seventeen hymns were identified by Wolkan in the oldest edition of 1583, but only eleven bear his signature. These are Nos. 81, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 101 (together with Michel Schneider), 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 122. In hymn No. 100 the first stanza is also by Hans Betz. One hymn, "Freut euch, ihr Christen alle," is found in older *Ausbund* editions only, up to 1622, but it is still in *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (1914), pp. 75-

71 Joseph Beck, *Die Geschichts-Bücher der österr. Wiedertäufer* (Vienna, 1883) 132.
72 *GB*, 110
73 Bender (note 52) counts 52 hymns in the oldest edition of the *Ausbund*, 1564; Wolkan knows only 51 hymns in his "oldest" edition of 1583, while all 17th century and later editions contain but 49 of the original hymns, three having been omitted.
74 All editions of the *Ausbund* since later 17th century have the same numbering and same pagination.

77. Betz is, as far as I can see, the only Philippite brother expressly mentioned in the Hutterite Chronicle, where a special paragraph of praise is dedicated to him on the occasion of his death (1537).[75]

Piety or Spiritual Climate of the Philippite Brethren

To talk about a topic as elusive as this is rather venturesome; for extant sources seem inadequate for any clear judgment. Fortunately, however, there are two avenues allowing us to grasp at least the essentials of their piety (not of their theology if there was one) and to recognize their identity by and large with the "Anabaptist vision" known to us from other groups. These two avenues are (1) the tract "Concerning a True Soldier of Christ" by Hans Haffner (*c*1533-1535),[76] found in one Hutterite codex, and (2) the 52 hymns of the oldest part of the *Ausbund,* briefly mentioned above. These two sources fit together very beautifully, providing a reasonable picture of the prevailing spiritual mood among the Philippites both in Moravia and in Passau.

The discovery of the Haffner tract (in 1930) denotes a very welcome enrichment of our knowledge of Anabaptist piety and outlook.[77] How it came into a Hutterite codex is somewhat puzzling and suggests the question whether it is the only tract of Philippite origin. Since, after 1535, Hutterites became friendly with the remnants of that brotherhood, we might rightly ask why there is not a richer literature of that kind. Whatever the answer, it is beyond doubt that this tract is a genuine Philippite work. Since it is one of the finest and most spiritual productions of early Anabaptism the gain is doubly welcome.

Its author is Hans Haffner, of Riblingen near Schwäbisch-Hall (Württemberg), who was one of the Passau prisoners. His testimony at his trial in 1535 gives the information that he had been baptized in Auspitz two years earlier (1533) and had been driven away by the King's mandate about six weeks previously. Haffner's name is also in the *Ausbund:* the eleventh stanza of hymn No. 100, "Mit Freuden wollen wir singen," composed by fourteen brethren, is clearly signed

75 *GB,* 133; only after closing the present paper I found that still another Philippite brother is mentioned in the Chronicle, namely Hans Zimmerauer, the composer of the *Ausbund* hymn No. 121. After his release from the Passau prison he seems to have joined the Hutterite brotherhood. He was subsequently sent to the Tyrol as a missioner where he was cruelly martyred in 1540. Cf. *GB,* 175. No hymn of his, however, is to be found in the *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder.*

76 See Friedmann, "Concerning a True Soldier of Christ, a Hitherto Unknown Tract of the Philippite Brethren in Moravia," *MQR* V (1931) 87-99.

77 It is planned to have it published unabridged in its original German language in the forthcoming volume II of the *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Täufer,* ed. by Lydia Müller (deceased) and Robert Friedmann, at Gütersloh, 1959. In 1930 the codex was at the Mittersill castle in Austria, where I saw and copied it. Now it is part of the rich Anabaptist collection (30 codices) of the City Library of Bratislava, Czechoslovakian Republic.

"H. Haff."[78] For five long years he and his wife languished in the dungeon of the Passau castle (1535-1540), being also tortured several times; then apparently he recanted and was released with his wife. Nothing further is known about him. His tract, covering 46 closely written manuscript pages, has the following lengthy title: *Von einem wahren Ritter Christi, und womit er gewappnet muss sein, damit er überwinden möge die Welt, das Fleisch und den Teufel.*[79] The allusion to Ephesians 6:10 ff. is obvious, also the implied "theology of the two worlds," the kingdom of God and the realm of the "prince of darkness," i.e., the world outside, something most characteristic for Anabaptist thought in general.[80] A true "soldier of Christ" (*ein wahrer Ritter Christi*), we read, needs four weapons to be able to carry on his "good fight," and these weapons are faith, love, hope, and (most important of all) Gelassenheit (see below). Haffner wants to demonstrate to all "how the true disciple of Christ should be. Let us therefore hear what belongs to a genuine soldier of Christ and of what character he ought to be and wherewith he must fight." (1) Faith, in contrast to the teachings of a Luther, needs works as its evidence. "Where there are no works there is no faith but rather a fancy (*Wahn*)." Of course such a faith comes through (2) love, "for it is impossible that those who truly have faith given them through Christ should not love God in return, yea not only God but also their neighbor." (3) Hope means much the same as patience and longsuffering in the bearing of the cross. When we suffer the cross and take it up by patience we may glory in the Lord. Hence, true resignation consists of these three things—faith, hope, and love. The most important weapon of a disciple, however, is (4) Gelassenheit, and in a sense this is the main theme of the tract. "A true soldier of Chrst must have true resignation, and to begin with must mortify his own life."[81]

Gelassenheit, a term originating in medieval German mysticism, is not easily rendered into English; it means resignation, inner surrender to God, yieldedness, conquest of self, etc., something connected with the right obedience of the disciple to the commandments of God. Closely connected with this idea of Gelassenheit is the supplementary thought that a "true soldier of Christ" needs to suffer in this world, so hostile to the call of Christ. "The world truly accepts Christ as a gift, but it does not know Him as a suffering Christ." When we fully realize the love of God we will be ready to give up for love's

78 See Wolkan, *Lieder*, 28 ff.; also article "Haffner," *ME* II, 626, and "Concerning a True Soldier of Christ," *ME* I, 664 f.

79 "Concerning a True Soldier of Christ and Wherewith He Must Be Armed in Order to Conquer the World, the Flesh and the Devil."

80 With this idea compare the study of Friedmann, "The Doctrine of the Two Worlds," in G. F. Hershberger (ed.) *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision* (Scottdale, 105-118).

81 Luke 9:23 f.

sake even what God has given us. The tract closes with the admonition, "Therefore, dear children, do not be disappointed that the world hates you, but continue, be patient, wait on the great God with joy. Blessed are those who weep here, for it is only for a short time, . . ." Mortification of the flesh is naturally not enough unless it is accompanied by a new birth. Referring to the theology of the Reformers, Haffner says, "we readily believe that Christ has redeemed us, but in action we do not wish to live as He lived." By resignation, however, "a Christian is recognized," and this idea is stressed almost on every page, interpreting all the rest from this point of view.

I do not know any other Anabaptist tract which stresses the attitude of Gelassenheit as much as Haffner's does. True, his contemporary Hutterite brother Ulrich Stadler (1536 f.) also has much to say about this attitude.[82] And yet, the dominant principle of this neighboring brotherhood was essentially something else, namely community of goods as the expression of brotherly love, which the Hutterites interpreted spiritually as Gelassenheit or self-surrender in all things material. Otherwise they stress obedience to God's commandments more than Gelassenheit, in other words they stress a positive principle in daily living more than the predominantly negative principle, reminiscent of medieval monasticism. Haffner's great passion, however, has to be sought exactly at this point, namely Gelassenheit in its ascetic sense, including the *Nachfolge* to the cross. To him this assumes a sort of redemptive value, while the more positive approach of practical living in brotherhood communities (as with Hutterites and also the Swiss Brethren) falls somewhat short in this otherwise stimulating devotional tract.

Here a new question arises: was this principle of Gelassenheit merely Haffner's idea, or was it taught by the Philippites in general, as their particular contribution to Anabaptist thought? A tentative answer can be given on the basis of the other source of our knowledg of Philippite piety, the oldest part of the *Ausbund,* as described above, which must be considered an exclusive product of the Philippite "genius."

We are most fortunate to have Rudolf Wolkan as a guide in the study of this hymnbook; his analyses are profund and to the point, and his comparison with other Anabaptist hymn productions allows judgments of a certain finality. As was stated in a previous section, fifty-two hymns were composed by some of the fifty-four to sixty prisoners in the years 1535-1540; some of the authors are known, others are anonymous, but the collection as a whole appears extremely uni-

82 Lydia Müller, *Glaubenszeugnisse oberdeutscher Taufgesinnter,* I (Leipzig, 1938) 223, 226

form in spirit and outlook. That a mood of suffering and martyrdom prevailed should not surprise us in view of the situation, but a "true soldier of Christ" has to anticipate such a situation as the natural outcomes of his "good fight." Not hatred but love, not wrath but resignation should reign in his heart, in spite of all the ordeals. Perhaps this mood can best be illustrated by quoting from a hymn strongly reminiscent of Haffner's ideas; the composer is not known, but it could easily have been Haffner himself. Stanza 12 of hymn No. 98 reads as follows:

Welcher nun mein Jünger will sein
Der muss die Welt verlassen,
Im Herzen sein auch werden rein,
Sein eigen Leben hassen.
Darzu auch hie, spat unde früh,
Sich all seins Gut verwegen,
Sein Kind und Weib, auch eigen Leib,
All's in die Schanze geben.

Not unlike it is hymn No. 82, composed by Michel Schneider, which has suffering and the cross as its main theme (stanzas 3, 4, and half of 5):

Wer mit ihm will Gemeinschaft hon
Seins Reichs teilhaftig werden,
Der selb muss auch desgleichen tun
Allhie auf dieser Erden.
Ja, welcher mit ihm erben will
Muss hie haben des Leidens viel,
Um seines Namens willen.

Welcher nun hit in dieser Zeit
Mit dem Herren tut sterben,
Der wird auch mit ihm ewig Freud
Ins Vaters Reich ererben.
Wer aber ihm nit folgen tut,
Den hat auch nit erlöst sein Blut
Sein Sünd auch nit vergeben.

Denn wem sein Sünd vergeben ist,
Der soll sie nit mehr treiben,
Also lehret uns Herr Jesus Christ,

Wolkan concentrates his main analysis on the work of Hans Betz (or Petz), whom he calls "a true poet," and Michel Schneider, likewise praised as a poet of great depth of feeling (*Gemütstiefe*) and strength of expression. Betz, quite in accordance with the general Anabaptist dualistic outlook, distinguishes his own brotherhood from "the children of Pilate"; the kingdom of heaven will be given only to those who bear the cross in this world, hence one must resignedly accept suffering in life.

Wolkan regards Michel Schneider as even more profound than Betz. Doctrinal questions do not concern him, what really matters to him is *Nachfolge,* discipleship, and this is possible only if we practice Gelassenheit, surrender to God in the hour of testing. Even in his last hour he prays for his enemies. *Ausbund,* No. 85, stanza 3, runs as follows:

Herr Gott Vater, wir bitten dich
Für all, die uns beleiden,
Du wollest ihnen gnädiglich
All ihre Sünd verzeihen,
Denn sie doch nit erkennen tun,
Was sie an uns gehandelt hon,
Wolst ihn dein Gnad verleihen.

One should read the entire hymn to fully grasp its spirit of devotion and resignation. Hymn No. 87 is one praise of the power of love (stanza 5):

Wer Lieb hat, ist von Gott geboren,
Denn Gott ist selbst die Liebe.
Alle die hat er auserkoren,
Die sich darinnen üben.
Die Liebe nimmer fehlen tut,
Sie wirkt das Gut
Zu aller Zeit ist sie bereit,
Zu Gottes Preis und Ehren.

Hymn No. 93, likewise by Michel Schneider, as all the earlier ones named, affirms again what has been called "the Anabaptist theology of martyrdom" (stanza 5):

Denn Christus der Herr tut uns sagen
Wer mir nachfolgt, muss das Kreuz tragen,

Hymn No. 96 asks God to give him comfort and strength; No. 97 praises purity of heart; No. 101 deals with total commitment, and finally No. 103 describes the signs of the latter days.

Wolkan summarizes his conclusion with these words: the majority of these hymns are truly moving (*ergreifende Wirkung*[83]), expressing great calmness in the face of death:

Wer die Kron erringen will
Der schau, dass er mit Christus redlich streite

But in all this gloom there is a glow of spiritual joy and satisfaction, as the following first lines of several hymns testify:

Mit Freuden wollen wir singen . . .
Freut euch, ihr Christen alle, . . .
Wohlauf, ihr Christen all/Und greift es tapfer an . . .[84]

83 Wolkan, *Lieder,* 40-42

84 First line by Hans Betz, *Ausbund,* hymn No. 100, second line by Hans Betz, *Ausbund* before 1622, now only in *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder* (Scottdale, 1914) 75 f.; for the third line I have lost the reference.

And finally stanza 18 of Hans Betz' hymn, not found in the later editions of the *Ausbund* but found in the *Lieder der Hutterischen Brüder,* pp. 75-77:

Christus ist unser Leben,
Sterben ist unser Gewinn,
Ja, wenn wir überwinden,
Ist aller Trübsal hin,

All these quotations reflect the mood or consciousness that in spite of external defeat there is victory and triumph, something truly amazing considering the circumstances of the origin of these documents. They all express spiritual certainty that those who sing these hymns are walking the right though difficult and narrow path trodden by the Master Himself. And in the last analysis: are these not the days when the end of this world is imminent and when one rightly may hope to return to one's eternal home?[85]

Putting Haffner's tract side by side with the *Ausbund* hymns, the picture of this piety becomes fairly obvious: keywords are *Nachfolge, Gelassenheit,* and *Liebe* (discipleship, resignation, and love). The time of the Philippite witnessing was rather short: 1527-1543 (or 1545), and its most creative moment was still shorter: 1533-1537 (or 38). But it harmonized strongly with the great chord of all Anabaptist music and should not be forgotten by a late generation.

85 *Ausbund,* hymn No. 103, pp. 471-479

THE WRITINGS OF DIRK PHILIPS

WILLIAM KEENEY*

A SURVEY OF HIS WRITINGS

The intention here is not to give an intensive analysis of Dirk Philips' writings, a summary of their contents, nor to list the full details of their various editions. The editor of Dirk Philips' writings in volume ten of *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica* has done a thorough work in introducing and presenting all of the items included there.[1] There are, however, two extant writings omitted in the edition by Pijper, which will be dealt with below. The intention of this discussion is to give a brief survey of the writings, some observations regarding their chronology, and a characterization which may help one to understand his thought and character.

Several of Dirk's writings are completely undated. It is difficult to establish even the general period in which they were written. Through most of his life he was hunted by the authorities and wandered about as a fugitive. Capture by the authorities would have meant certain death. It is highly doubtful that the majority of his writings would have survived, had it not been that in the later years of his life, probably within the relative safety and peace of his Prussian haven, he collected and edited his major works up to that time and reprinted them in an *Enchiridion oft Hantboecxken van de Christelijcke Leere* . . . (Handbook of the Christian Doctrine . . .). This was a collection of about sixteen items, most and perhaps all of which had appeared earlier. An index (more like a table of contents) was added to make it more useful for the ready reference of readers.

The listings of Blaupot ten Cate seem to suggest that the *Enchiridion* was begun on a more modest scale in 1544, was reprinted in 1562, and received its final and most expanded form in 1564.[2] Blaupot ten Cate lists no earlier printings of three titles in the work of 1564, but Pijper seems to think that they were printed earlier.[3] Pijper believes that *Van der wedergeboorte ende nieuwe Creatuere,* . . . (Concerning Regeneration, and the New Creature, . . .) appeared

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1 This discussion is primarily dependent on the various introductions by Fredrik Pijper in Volume X of the *Bibliotheca Reformatoria Neerlandica.* A listing by S. Blaupot ten Cate as an appendix in his *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Groningen, Overijssel en Oost-Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1842) I, p. 246 f., has also been used. Other works used are cited on specific items.

2. S. Blaupot ten Cate lists printings of the *Enchiridion* in 1544, 1562, and 1564 within the lifetime of Dirk Philips (*op. cit.*, p. 246). Pijper does not mention the earlier editions but considers the 1564 edition the final edition of the writings by Dirk (*BRN* X, p. 43 f.)

3. Cf. S. Blaupot ten Cate, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

in 1556 in connection with *Wtlegginghe de Tabernakels ofte der Hutten Moysi* . . . (An Interpretation of the Tabernacle of Moses . . .).[4] S. Blaupot ten Cate lists a printing of the latter in 1556 also.[5] Pijper also suspects that *Vande Geestelijcke Restitution,* . . . (Concerning Spiritual Restitution, . . .) and *Vande Gemeynte Godts,* . . . (Concerning the Church of God, . . .) were printed between 1559 and 1564, but gives no positive evidence for such an opinion.[6]

Except for these three which have been dated with only an intelligent guess, there seems to be fairly common agreement on the dating of the other major writings. The first writings seem to have appeared in 1544 (ten Cate) or around 1545 (Pijper).[7] These constituted an early confession of faith centering largely in the communion and baptism issues, and an *Apologia* . . . (Vindication . . .) of the Anabaptist view which they held. The two items which Pijper omits probably were written around 1550. The first was an eleven page manuscript, *Eine Bekenntnisse van der Afsondringhe* . . . (A Confession concerning Separation . . .), which deals with the matter of avoiding banned persons under certain conditions except for two brief items at the end.[8] J. G. de Hoop Scheffer believes that this treatise was written during the controversy with Zylis and Lemke and at about the same time as another writing of Dirk's on the ban, which appeared on February 5, 1558.[9] There are several reasons which would indicate that this was written earlier, probably about 1550. The major part of the treatise seems to be in direct answer to questions which were raised about the ban and avoidance. These questions are almost identical to questions which Menno lists and answers in one of his writings.[10] J. C. Wenger suggests that this should be attached to a treatise which Menno wrote in 1550.[11] If Wenger is correct, as he seems to be, why would Dirk wait until eight years after Menno had printed a reply to these questions when his answers are briefer, were very similar to Menno's and were not printed? It also appears that Dirk had access to a printing press after 1556,

4 *BRN* X, pp. 17-19.

5 S. Blaupot ten Cate, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

6 *BRN* X, p. 33; see esp. n. 4.

7 Cf. S. Blaupot ten Cate, *op. cit.*, p. 246; *BRN* X, p. 14 f. Vos, perhaps in his apparent desire to underrate the significance of Dirk and because of his belief that Dirk was dependent on Menno's writings, ignores these dates and says that Dirk first picked up his pen in 1550. (*Menno Simons,* p. 48.)

8 Dirk Philips, "Eine Bekenntnisse van der Afsonderinghe int korthe vorüartet wo verne dat me den Affelligen miden schal edder schoüwenn," n.p., n.d. (Manuscript in the archives of the Mennonite Church in Amsterdam, listed as No. 620. Also a transcription in modern handwriting. Bethel and Goshen College historical libraries have microfilm copies.) Cf. Karel Vos, *Menno Simons,* p. 330.

9 J. G. de Hoop Scheffer, "Opmerkingen en mededeelingen betreffende Menno Simons. VIII." *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen,* 1894, p. 55 f.

10 See *The Complete Writings of Menno Simons, c.1496-1561,* L. Verduin, trs.; J. C. Wenger, ed., (Scottdale, 1956) pp. 479-482, Questions 4-7. (Hereafter cited as *Complete Writings.*)

11 Cf. *Ibid.,* p. 456.

but probably not between 1545 and 1556, and therefore could only circulate his answers in manuscript form. The issues dealt with in this treatise agree best with the issues dealt with in Menno's treatise which appeared in 1550, rather than with those reflected in the treatises written in 1541 and 1558. For these reasons it seems that a date very close to 1550 is probably correct.

The other unpublished writing of Dirk which is extant is a fragment of a letter written to Antonius von Köln. I have not had a copy of the letter available, but J. ten Doornkaat Koolman states that it was in answer to questions which Calvinists in Jülich raised with regard to the Incarnation. He implies that the letter was written between 1547 and 1550 since he discusses it between the conferences at Emden and Goch in 1547 and Antonius von Köln's defection from the Anabaptists in 1550.[12]

Thus, with the exception of these two writings which apparently were never published, there was a lapse of ten years between the publication of Dirk's first writings and the next period of productivity which extended over three years. The *Wtlegginghe des Tabernakels* . . . and perhaps *Van der wedergeboorte ende nieuwe Creatuere* . . . appeared in 1556, as stated above. In 1557 an expanded version of the earlier *Bekentenisse* . . . (Confession . . .) including fuller statements on communion and baptism seems to have been published. In addition, there were two others from the same year, *Van der Menschwerdinghe ons Heeren Jesu Christi* . . . (Concerning the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ), and *Vande rechte kennisse Jesu Christi* . . . (Concerning the True Knowledge of Jesus Christ . . .). On February 5, 1558, the work on the ban in response to those who were inclined to be too lenient, *Lieffelijcke vermaninghe wt des Heeren Woordt,* . . . (A Loving Admonition from the Word of God, . . .), was finished.[13] Another work, *Van de warachtige Kennisse Gods,* . . . (Concerning the True Knowledge of God, . . .), appeared in the same year. *Van der Sendinge der Predicanten oft Leeraers,* . . . (Concerning the Sending of Preachers or Teachers, . . .) is dated as being published in 1559 also.

The only known literary work which can be dated definitely during the next six or seven years was the edition of the *Enchiridion* or *Handbook* already mentioned. The remainder of Dirk's major writings which can be dated with any certainty appeared in 1567-68,

12 *Mennonite Encyclopedia* I (Scottdale, 1955), p. 133 b f. A fragment of the letter is in manuscript form in the Archives of the Mennonite Church in Amsterdam listed as *Inv. Arch. Amst.* II, No. 1971 r.

13 Cf. *BRN* X, p. 30 f. There are four initials at the end of this writing, "D.P.I.B." The writer has not seen these explained. Are they an abbreviated salutation, or do they indicate support of someone such as Leenaert Bouwens? (Cf. *BRN* X, p. 265.)

or shortly thereafter. None of these was originally included in the *Enchiridion,* but some were included in editions published after his death.[14] One of these appears to be a work done somewhat reluctantly by Dirk Philips, in order to meet the requests of some who were disturbed by the writings of Sebastian Franck, who had considerable influence in the Netherlands. Some of Franck's works are extant only in Dutch translation.[15] They probably influenced Dirk's brother Obbe and contributed to his defection from the Anabaptist movement.[16] Upon the request of some Elders and brothers, Dirk wrote a reply to two letters by Sebastian Franck. This reply seems to have been published in 1567, more than twenty-five years after at least one of the letters was written (February 4, 1541) and almost twenty-five years after Franck's death (1543).[17]

Among Dirk's letters is a *Sendtbrief aen die Huysvrouwe van I. den S.* (Epistle to the Wife of I. the S.). If Vos is correct, this was written to the wife of Joachim Vermeeren the Sugarbaker of Asperen, who had preached and baptized and was considered a "Bishop of the Rebaptizers."[18] He was burned at Antwerp on June 21, 1561. On the basis of this identification, the wife would have been Tanneken Vermeeren, of Mechelen. She was arrested and had been held for some time by May 16, 1565. After about two years in prison she escaped with a number of others on March 13, 1567. The circumstances would then point to an interval from about May 1565 to March 13, 1567, as the time when the letter was written. It appears to have been published first in 1579.[19] The warmth and personal interest of Dirk Philips shines through in this letter probably better than anywhere else in his writings.

There is also the body of writings dealing with the dissension and eventual schism over the Covenant of the Four Cities (Verbond der Vier Steden). The first was a letter addressed to the four cities, apparently following the pattern of Paul in seeking to deal with the problem by a formal epistle.[20] This has an appendix containing the decision of the ministers gathered at Emden in 1565. It deals with the calling and appointing of bishops and ministers. This may be a work primarily from the hand of Dirk Philips. As he became involved in the dispute, he wrote a series of four letters, all or parts of

14 See listings of these in *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II (Scottdale, 1956) 66 a.
15 Cf. *BRN* X, p. 473 f.
16 See *Mennonite Encyclopedia* II, 366 f.
17 See Carl Alfred Hase, *Sebastian Franck von Wörd, der Schwarmgeist* (Leipzig, 1869) 22; G. H. Williams suggests that this letter may have been written as early as 1531, but accepts the later dating; *Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers* (Philadelphia, 1957) p. 147, n.4.
18 Vos, *Menno Simons,* p. 330. Listed in *Martyr's Mirror,* p. 651 b f., as Joos Verbeeck, A.D. 1561.
19 *BRN* X, p. 669.
20 Again one finds six initials, "D.P.V.B." "I.H." at the end of this writing for which no explanation appears. (*BRN* X, p. 529)

which have been preserved. The first was addressed to Hoyte Renix on June 8, 1567. On June 30 a letter was addressed to the two ministers at Hoorn, and probably with it went the general letter to the congregation. An additional letter was sent to Jan Willems and Lubbert Gerrits. After the tragic end of his attempts to mediate and find a solution to the difficulties, he wrote his *Cort, doch grondtlick verhael vanden twistigen handel . . .* (Short, Though Basic Account of the Quarrel . . .) with an appendix to defend his actions and his position with regard to the dispute.

During the closing days of 1568 he wrote a last word on the vexing problem of "Christian Matrimony," and concerned himself particularly with such problems as marrying outside the church, and the relationships to a member under the discipline of the ban. It is referred to rather sarcastically by the anonymous author of *Het beginsel der scheuringen onder de Doops gesinden* (The Beginning of the Divisions among the Doopsgezinden) as Dirks Philips' "last jewel," because of its severity in these matters.[21] This booklet was completed on March 7, 1568, but not published until 1569, after Dirk's death.

There is another treatise of Dirk's on the ban. This writing has been preserved only in translation from the French.[22] Vos is probably correct in his opinion that the original Dutch or German has been lost.[23] He guesses further that the initials "C.V.M." for the Dutch translator refer to Carel van Mander.[24] The contents of this do not vary in any basic attitudes from the writing included in the *Enchiridion,* except perhaps for some stricter applications of the principle within the family relationship.

The remaining extant writings consist of two poems. The first lines of these are "Ghy Christen broeders te samen" (Ye Christian brothers gathered together) and "Verheucht nu en weest verblijt" (Rejoice now and be joyful). S. Blaupot ten Cate had indications that the former was written to strengthen the church against the confusion created by Adam Pastor.[25] It consists of twenty-two stanzas extolling Christ as the Son of God. The other is a Christmas song, but the circumstances under which it was written seem to be entirely lost. These were sung to familiar tunes as hymns and were included in early hymnals of the church.

21 *BRN* VII, p. 532.

22 See *MQR* XXXII (July 1958) 174.

23 Vos, *Menno Simons,* p. 328.

24 *Ibid.,* p. 330, n. 1.

25 S. Blaupot ten Cate, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Friesland* (Leeuwarden, 1839) 263.

Synchronization with Events

It is of some interest to synchronize the probable time of the writings for which the dates are fairly certain with Dirk's life and the events in the church. The most striking parallels can be seen as the major periods of productivity are noted. It can be observed, for example, that the first group of writings appeared about 1544-45. Menno Simons' "Brief and Clear Confession" was published in 1544 and no further major writings appeared from his pen until 1550. "A Clear Account of Excommunication" and "Confession of the Triune God" appeared then.[26] It was also in January 1544 that Menno had debates with John a Lasco, the Reformed leader at Emden.[27] To our knowledge Dirk was not a participant in these debates. Perhaps his writings were his attempt to speak on some of the issues raised.

The next major period of literary activity was from 1556 to 1559. Menno had been publishing throughout the fifties after a lapse of about six years, his last major work appearing in 1558, and a briefer work in 1560. The two or three years immediately preceding the time when Dirk Philips again began publishing after a ten year interval was a time of much debating and discussion of issues. Gellius Faber, a colleague of John a Lasco and participant in the debate of 1554, renewed the dispute in print. Again in February 1554 a debate was held in Wismar with Martin Micron, another follower of John a Lasco from Emden.[28] This was followed by the conference at Wismar on the ban and marriage. Important conferences were held at Strasbourg during the next two years, and significant decisions were made on many vital issues during these meetings. Through these conferences the Church was working out its fullest position and assuming its more permanent form in both organization and thought. Dirk was active in these discussions both personally and in print. It may be that this period of writing coincided with a withdrawal around 1555 to the relative safety and quiet of the Danzig area. It is interesting that the conferences in Northwest Germany diminished after that date, while his writings increased. Could it have been because he was then too far from this center to make the trips?

The final work on the *Enchiridion* was done in the years immediately following Menno's death (January 1561). Dirk undoubtedly felt the burden shifted to his shoulders by the passing of his

26 See *Complete Writings*, pp. 419-98.
27 Cornelius Krahn, *Menno Simons (1496-1561)* (Karlsruhe, 1936) 57 ff.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 77 ff.

colleague, and must also have been increasingly conscious of his own failing strength as well as the need of the church for guidance and direction.

The final years and the last writings were addressed to very practical problems for the most part and to immediate difficulties which demanded solution. These were, therefore, conditioned much more by specific situations and needs, and do not have the same universal quality which is found is most of the earlier writings. They are not as creative and very little in the way of new ideas or approaches appears.

Characterization of His Writings

Dirk Philips' writings present his thought in a lucid and well-organized fashion. The organization of the materials reflects an awareness of both the logical and psychological factors in persuading the reader. No doubt because most of the works were written at different times and later edited and collected the ideas are occasionally repeated. This late editing, however, resulted in a mature and refined statement of the positions which he held on many issues. The writings also demonstrate an ability to balance opposing ideas delicately and where necessary to state a position that clearly excludes extremes which he rejects.

Because he accepted the Scriptures as the norm for judging all thought, he includes numerous scriptural citations. Almost every statement is buttressed with proof-texts or passages cited in the margins. Some of the writings are primarily paraphrasing and editing of Scripture passages. These characteristics tend to make them tedious to the modern mind.

Along with the Biblical standard, Dirk made a deliberate attempt to deny dependence upon authorities other than the Scriptures. There are very few citations of other writings, even when there are obvious similarities and agreement with others. He quoted Sebastian Franck, but only to refute him or to point out that with which he disagreed. He cited Luther once as confirming his position, but immediately qualified it with the statement, "But we have not made this reference to such teachers with the idea that it should form the basis of our hope or trust, Oh no!"[29] He referred once to Luther and once to Erasmus to indicate disagreement with positions about which they had written.[30]

One finds very little of the humanistic interest in the classics and

29 *BRN* X, p. 62. Dietrich Philip, *Enchiridion or Handbook*, translated by Abram B. Kolb (Elkhart, 1910) 34.

30 *BRN* X, pp. 83, 100; *Handbook*, pp. 35, 55.

in philological studies of the Scriptures. He held the position that the plain and simple words of the Scripture were sufficient to understand the Word of God. Therefore, though he probably knew Latin, some Greek, and perhaps even a little Hebrew, he very seldom quoted the original languages of the Scriptures, and apparently accepted the vernacular as adequate to convey the concepts essential to faith. As a general rule he did not use philosophical and theological terminology, as may be noted in the omission of the word "Trinity," even though he quite clearly dealt with the concept.[31] This was not unique to Dirk Philips, but was a characteristic of the Reformation reaction against scholasticism and of the attempt of the Reformers to return to the Scriptures; but Dirk carried it out to a greater degree than many of the others.

Dirk's writings are more concerned with the practical application of the teachings to ethical and moral living than with theological speculation. However, his attempts to rationalize the Incarnation and the controversy with Adam Pastor over the divinity of Jesus Christ indicate the importance he placed on correct doctrine. Thus, theology was not his major emphasis, but he felt that correct doctrine was necessary in order to maintain the pure and holy life of the individual and the church.

Dirk maintained a much more impersonal tone in his writings than did Menno Simons. Even in the midst of the quarrel between the Frisians and the Flemish he attempted to deal with the issues rather than becoming involved with personalities. Dirk made little use of the crude invectives which even Menno hurled against his opponents and which were characteristic of the age. One misses, however, the picturesque illustrations which characterized Menno's writings. This probably accounts in part for the greater popularity of Menno's writings among the Anabaptists. Dirk has no equivalent of Menno's "Meditation on the Twenty-Fifth Psalm"[32] or "Meditations and Prayers for Mealtime."[33]

Dirk did not write primarily for those outside the church, but wrote to protect those who were within the brotherhood. Nevertheless he replied to men outside the church, such as Bernhard Rothmann and Sebastian Franck. These answers were not intended, howevere, to persuade Rothmann and Franck, since they were dead when Dirk wrote. Dirk answered them in order to refute some of their ideas which were still creating problems within the church.

31 See H. E. Dosker, *The Dutch Anabaptists* (Philadelphia, 1921) 156 f.
32 *Complete Writings*, pp. 63-86.
33 *Ibid.*, pp. 959-98.

Because Dirk did not enter into controversy, non-Anabaptists were much more familiar with Menno's writings than with Dirk's.

Dirk's writings had a considerable influence upon the Mennonite Church in its early years. They have also won the respect of such modern non-Anabaptist scholars as Pijper and Dosker. The latter quotes with approval the judgment of the former with regard to Dirk's *Enchiridion* as follows:

> It was for the Mennonites (and the majority of the Anabaptists followed him as their true leader) what the *Loci Communes* of Melanchthon were for the Lutherans; Calvin's Institutes and the confession of Beza, for the Calvinists; and the *Leken-Wechwyser* ("The Layman's Guide") for the early Dutch Protestants.[34]

Dirk provided the Mennonites with a convenient handbook containing a more balanced and comprehensive statement of their position than was found elsewhere. It was done, however, at the expense of some of the vigor and warmth found in the controversial and edificatory writings of his better-known colleague, Menno Simons.

34 *BRN* X, p. 4; Dosker, *op. cit.*, p. 105. Pijper does not include Calvin's Institutes. They are added by Dosker.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION AND THE WORLD OF CULTURE

CARL F. H. HENRY*

Because the Christian religion stresses the importance of reason, not simply will and emotion, it has a continuing stake in the arena of culture generally and in the realm of education specifically. For Christianity exalts God as Lord of the minds of men, and under God seeks the spiritual and intelligible integration of all of life's experience.

CHRISTIANITY AND REASON

The greatness of the Hebrew-Christian religion rests partly on its insistence that the Living God is rational and moral, and that the Logos is identical with absolute Deity; its insistence that the created universe itself is expressive of reason and responsive to reason; that the dignity of man above the animals consists in participation in the Divine image that enables man to think God's thoughts after Him and to walk in His ways; that the Holy Spirit uses truth as a means to illumine and to convict man the sinner; that God's special revelation addressed to sinners, climaxed historically at Mount Calvary, also includes concepts and phrases identified as the Word of God written;—all this partially mirrors the glory of biblical religion. Doubtless some religions degrade reason, but Christianity supports the intellectual integration of life and experience.

The importance of reason is therefore an inescapable enduring Christian emphasis. Only in times of reaction or of recrudescence has Christian theology neglected it. Ever since the Scottish philosopher Hume turned modern intellectual currents into a skeptical channel, and the German philosopher Kant proposed his additionally complicating epistomological remedy, the doubt over human reason's adequacy to comprehend the spiritual world has vexed the headwaters of Protestant theology like a phantom. For almost two centuries, Western philosophy has increasingly dabbled in nonrational experience, finally yielding to Kierkegaard, Darwin, Nietzsche, Freud, and Dewey. This speculative irrationalism largely scorned Kant's *a priori* foundation of knowledge and denied the "categorical significance of reason," to borrow philosophical language. In other words, modern philosophy deserted the historic Christian belief that reason pervades the world of reality; it denied rational relationships between a rational Creator, man, and the uni-

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verse. By the turn of the century, this bias had seeped to the intellectual classes. After World War I, non-rationality in human experience overpowered the general social consciousness. This revolt of speculative philosophy against reason gained quick fortification from certain schools of theology, from the "relational predicament" into which Schleiermacher and Ritschl, and Protestant liberalism quite generally, betrayed the theology of revelation by excluding any objective metaphysical knowledge of God. In his attempt to rescue theology from such abuse, Karl Barth made only limited progress. The Harvard scholar, Crane Brinton, in his history of Western thought, *Ideas and Men,* shows concern over anti-intellectualism as "one of the characteristic manifestations of the spirit of our age." Gordon H. Clark's survey of the history of Western philosophy, *Thales to Dewey,* devotes 65 pages, one-eighth of the volume, to "Contemporary Irrationalism," his term for the predominant mood of European and Anglo-Saxon post-Hegelianism.

Because of this drift in modern thought and because of the nature of the Christian religion, evangelical theologians today have good cause to resist the growing revolt against reason. Christianity must repudiate rationalism that exalts the authority of human speculation and conceals an Infinite Mind that corrects the limited knowledge of creatures. The believing Church has always been swift to repudiate pantheism, which regards the human mind as a fragment of the Divine Mind. In this century it has resisted neo-Hegelian personalism as well, which, while it distinguishes the Infinite Self from finite selves, nonetheless detaches man from any necessary dependence on special Divine revelation for reliable knowledge of God. In one important respect, however, the post-Hegelian reaction from rationalism to anti-intellectualism can learn even from Hegel. While the great German idealist perversely misrepresented Christianity on many points, he was formally nearer the truth than many of his modern critics by insisting that man is divinely intended not only to *love* God but to *know* Him. Hegel's *The Philosophy of History* has scorching words for the doctrine that God is to be obeyed rather than known. This is what he says:

> In direct contravention of what is commanded in holy Scripture as the highest duty—that we should not merely love, but *know* God—the prevalent dogma involves the denial of what is there said; viz., that it is the Spirit (der Geist) that leads into Truth, knows all things, penetrates even into the deep things of the Godhead. While the Divine Being is thus placed beyond our knowledge, and outside the limit of all human things, we have the convenient license of wandering as far as we list, in the direction of our own fancies. We are freed from the obligation to refer our

knowledge to the Divine and True. On the other hand, the vanity and egotism which characterize it find, in this false position, ample justification; and the pious modesty which puts far from it the knowledge of God can well estimate how much furtherance thereby accrues to its own wayward and vain strivings. I have been unwilling to leave out of sight the connection between our thesis—that Reason governs and has governed the World—and the question of the possibility of a knowledge of God, chiefly that I might not lose the opportunity of mentioning the imputation against Philosophy of being shy of noticing religious truths, or of having occasion to be so; in which is insinuated the suspicion that it has anything but a clear conscience in the presence of those truths. So far from this being the case, the fact is, that in recent times Philosophy has been obliged to defend the domain of religion against the attacks of several theological systems. In the Christian religion God has revealed Himself—that is, he has given us to understand what He is; so that He is no longer a concealed or secret existence. And this possibility of knowing Him, thus afforded us, renders such knowledge a duty. God wishes no narrow-hearted souls or empty heads for his children; but those whose spirit is of itself indeed poor, but rich in the knowledge of Him; and who regard this knowledge of God as the only valuable possession.[1]

Some may misconstrue this use of Hegel as a revival of nineteenth century liberalism superimposed on evangelical apologetics. They recognize his grossly antibiblical teaching that our spirits are but parts of the Absolute coming to consciousness in our own contemplation. But those who summarily dismiss all of Hegel on this account will cut themselves off from Aquinas and Augustine, from Luther and Calvin, and indeed from the best theological heritage of Christianity as a whole. For the Great Tradition insists that a rational, moral Spirit governs creation and has fashioned men for obedience in knowledge; that ultimately truth is one, and that philosophy and theology dare not be confined to separate compartments of the human mind; and that all life, history, and culture are measured by the Infinite God, find their meaning only in relation to Him, and derive their ennoblement only through the resources resident in Him.

Christianity and Culture

Christianity seeks to conform human reason and all its achievements to Jesus Christ the Creator, Redeemer and Judge. For this reason it has a permanent interest in and vitality for education and culture. It summons all of personal and social life to Christ's lordship.

Today's investment in the spirit and service of secularism means staggering depreciation of human well-being and happiness with each passing year. Deflection of culture and civilization from Chris-

1 *The Philosophy of History,* translated from the German by J. Sibree (New York, 1900) pp. 14 f.

tian enthusiasm and from the sense of Christian obligation conceals and virtually nullifies the social claim of Christ and His Kingdom in our day. Because it is unaware of Christ's primacy, the world of learning and science follows an unpredictable course in relation to duty and justice and love. Its *esprit de corps* today is assuredly not the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of the living God. Neither the higher nor lower levels of education must be allowed to fall unprotested to secular leaders and interpreters of life. In the United States, Christians have usually tried to keep some hold on higher education and have largely ignored primary and secondary education, although this situation now shows some change. In a secular climate, Christian ideals and virtues do not flourish; rather, they are in a defensive fight for sheer survival. To neglect pressing the claim of Christ upon the secular community brings swift and costly reprisal for such disregard: the non-Christian ideals and concepts of the world will soon infect the members of our churches. Areas of "supposed truth" will be Christless. Nature without creation, providence, and miracle; history without prophecy and fulfillment, without the centrality of the cross; man without conscience, soul, and redemption; life without present salvation and future immortality: this is the penalty and price of Christian neglect.

If, however, Christianity relates itself properly to the entire range of thought and action, if it aggressively penetrates secular alternatives as a revealed world-life view, Christianity will further true learning and fullness of life. Christ then becomes the source and goal of the noblest and broadest culture.

If ultimate reality is not irrational and ineffable, but is Logos; if ultimate reality is not impersonal, but is the Lord; if ultimate reality is not indifferent, but is Love; if it is in Christ Jesus that "all things consist," if all things are "of him, and through him, and unto him," if the cross is the central idea to which creation relates, if the Lamb of God was "slain from the foundation of the world," if Jesus Christ is indeed "the way, the truth and the life," if the Holy Spirit is to "guide us into all truth," if there is "no other name given among men whereby we must be saved," if the Church of Jesus Christ is "the pillar and ground of truth," then it is dangerous to spawn a civilization that seeks truth without Christ. To apply genius and power for extending the orbit of worldly knowledge without reference to its axis of revelation in the Son of God is vain. To shut out the illumination of God's disclosure of Himself in Christ not simply from the world of religion, but also of philosophy, of science, of

literature and art, is blindness indeed. Truth in every realm is a commentary on the reality of life brought from darkness to light by the Creator-Redeemer God; it reflects the wise and holy Lord of the universe in relationship to His creatures; it reflects the greatness and glory of Jesus Christ who ever remains the living Head of the church.

Either Christianity interprets the culture of the world or that culture yields to the compulsion of false gods. Dare we lament the tragic deterioration of a sense of accountability to the Christian revelation in literature and art, the theater and the stage, law and medicine, philosophy and science, as well as in theology itself? Have we not neglected compelling elaboration of the relevant principles by which Christianity interprets these movements of civilization and thought? If moral earnestness and devotion to truth are to saturate and characterize our modern world, then science and scholarship must unite with spirituality and service to God. In a word, we must live, move, and have our modern being in both Christianity and culture at one and the same time, in one and the same life breath. Christ alone is able to blend and bind culture and conscience, civilization and Christianity, society and Spirit. He is the head of the corner, the chief cornerstone, the one immovable foundation. He is the whole Truth; whatever ignores Him, therefore, is part-truth and part-lie, or actually not the truth at all.

Personally convinced of the reality of Christ's redemption for and in life, evangelical forces must challenge and storm the high places of culture and learning. If through indifference and carelessness of Christ's followers, skepticism, agnosticism, and rationalism overtake the realms of learning, the Christian Church has no excuse for this default. Guilt and shame are the only recompense for deposing the name of Christ from the totality of learning. Christ Jesus is the center of nature, history, man, and all the spheres of study. The Church silent on this message is no longer the Church; she tears the crown of glory from her Redeemer's brow, and substitutes another crown of thorns. To fully measure the wisdom of this world demands intellectual eminence and precision. At the same time, the vitality of spiritual humility must diffuse the reverence and the love and the power of God into the vast arena of modern thought and action. Evangelical forces must covet the forefront of intellectual progress for the recognition and the service of Jesus Christ.

This Christian challenge to bring culture under the superintendence of God holds promise of staggering benefits to all mankind among the nations of our world.

Christianity and Education

Education, together with evangelism, is the fulcrum in the tottering imbalances of modern society. To secure personal recognition of Jesus Christ as Saviour and God in private life, and beyond this to engage in the task of social rescue and redemption, is the prescribed task of evangelism. Only education, however, that interprets Divine revelation in its bearing upon human personality and social energy in relation to God and neighbor can disclose the eternal as well as far-reaching temporal import of every thought, word, and deed. Education bears the responsibility for study, investigation, research, and teaching in all the sciences.

A crucial key for unlocking and releasing this Christian contribution to social order is the Christian university, or at least a graduate school of advanced Christian studies. To confront conflicting social forces with a view to intelligibly integrating man's total experience requires knowledge of modern culture's weaknesses. The Christian academic world must exhibit these alongside the ennobling features of redemptive revelation, must demonstrate and inspire confidence and dedication in developing Christian solutions. As a cultural force, education moves downward from above no less than upward from below. The prevailing standards and quality of culture are fixed primarily at the professional level. Wherever spiritual forces have neglected higher education, no matter how superior numerically, they have almost invariably exerted less influence than smaller groups with a vision and program in the world of thought. What remarkable social forces would be loosed in our century if devout faculties, cognizant that the Logos, the source and fountain of all truth, is none other than Jesus Christ the Word made flesh for our salvation, piloted the University of Moscow, the University of Berlin, the Sorbonne, Cambridge and Oxford, Harvard and Columbia, Chicago and California, to mention but a few? If the influence of a great Christian university could permeate educational enterprise throughout the world, if every realm of learning could face with sobriety the supremacy of Jesus Christ, who can predict what great blessing even one nation—may it yet be America—could bring to the world, and to the cause of truth?

When the Church invites multitudes into the abundant life, when it identifies its highest academic concerns with the training of the ministry, but in both pulpit and pew evades and defers major encounters and resolution in the world of speculation, the Church only postpones the inevitable agony of intellectual conflict within its

own ranks. In the schools, colleges, and universities that it creates and inspires, the Church must find exhibition of a comprehensive Christian world-life view to launch beyond broken fragments of sermonic interpretation to the complete intellectual integration of life and experience.

The first area where Christian solutions must penetrate is in the field of learning. The Christian integration of all thought and life is still the great and transcendent priority for co-ordinated social effort; without this, Christian youth remains poorly equipped for the onslaughts of unbelief. That modern Western culture in the nineteenth century took its leadership from speculative idealism, and in the twentieth century from the naturalism of Charles Darwin, John Dewey, and the successors of Karl Marx, emphasizes the far greater threat to the Christian Church of academic sterility than of rationalism in the presence of alien philosophies. Academic cretinism augurs not only a pietistic structure of anti-intellectualism but a stunted expression of the broader implications of revealed religion. "Before the builder there must be the plan; but before the plan there must be the vision." How clear is our vision of the need for an academically respectable and effective impact on world culture? This vision is the key to either success or failure in planning and building the unshakable foundation of Jesus Christ into the tottering shells of secular learning.

"Landräumig". Sebastian Franck, ein Wanderer an Donau, Rhein und Neckar. By Eberhard Teufel. Neustadt an der Aisch: Degener & Co., 1954. Pp. 123.

The biography of Sebastian Franck written by Eberhard Teufel under the title *Landräumig* is an excellent example of the power of strictly methodical historical research combined with passionate love for the subject of the research to produce an impressive historical portrait.

The reader tensely follows the path of the "Wanderer along the Danube, Rhine, and Neckar" to his resting place in Basel, which was granted him only for three years before his early death after the restless years in which he was unable to find a home anywhere, especially following the bitter expulsion from Strasbourg and Ulm.

His fate had its roots in his opposition to Luther, to whom he—the Catholic priest—was early inclined and from whom he soon parted; but still more in his opposition to the Lutheran theologians and church authorities, who had neither understanding nor tolerance for this man whom they considered a fanatic and suspect of Anabaptism, for this man who would not subscribe to any of the Christian creeds and sects, but pursued his lonely way and wanted to exercise a supra-partisan critique of all, since he recognized in all the Spirit of God at work and heard Him speak from the Bible as well as from Mysticism and from philosophy.

Actually Luther's doctrine of justification was for Franck only an intermediate stage. Under the influence of Mysticism he turned especially against binding the spirit to the written word of the Bible, trying to separate the "inner" Word from the "outer." Thus he caused much offense by his *Paradoxa,* in which he tried to refute a faith in the letter of the Bible by pointing out contradictions. Although one may ask whether he really understood Luther's doctrine of the Word, one must still consider that his opposition was basically against a misunderstanding of the Bible as a letter of the Law—a misunderstanding he frequently encountered. The reader of this book feels that it was a tragedy of the Reformation that there could be no mutual understanding between Luther and Franck.

The author's presentation, which characteristically differs from the journalistic style of Will-Erich Peuckert's biography of Franck by its terseness, treats Franck's writings, on which his influence is based, in their connection with his restless life and gives impressive specimens from them. The author makes his way through frequent difference of opinion with other verdicts, particularly with that of Karl Holl. With his objectivity as a historian he combines an inner participation in Franck's fate, and on occasion gives expression to high-spirited judgments. The perusal of this book is therefore actually stimulating, and the fascinated reader will not be able to avoid the impression that the problems that moved Franck's life and writings have by no means been solved.

Marburg a.d. Lahn RUDOLF BULTMANN

Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers. Part I: *Documents Illustrative of the Radical Reformation.* Edited by George Huntston Williams. Part II: *Evangelical Catholicism as Represented by Juan de Valdes.* Edited by Angel M. Mergal. (Vol. XXV, The Library of Christian Classics. Editors John Baillie, John T. McNeill, and Henry P. Van Dusen) Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. Pp. 421.

That the Anabaptists of the 16th century should be included in this great anthology of Christian Classics and edited by an outstanding pro-

fessor of church history in a leading American theological school such as Harvard Divinity School is evidence of the breakthrough of a fresh and more adequate understanding and appreciation of the role of the Anabaptists in Christian history. On the other hand, the fact that of the thirteen documents presented only three (Menno Simons, Dirk Philips, and Grebel's letter to Müntzer) were available in English, while the rest had to be translated for the first time, indicates how late this evaluation has come and how urgent it is that the important Anabaptist sources be made available in English. Harry Emerson Fosdick had already published some fifty pages of Anabaptist testimonies in his *Great Voices of the Reformation* (1952), but Professor Williams has given the Christian world something far more important, both because of its extent (246 pages of text) and because of the valuable introduction (20 pp.) and commentary (26 pages of small type footnotes) of high scholarly quality. This is the only Anabaptist anthology in any language, and it contains the best brief introduction to and characterization of the movement. The Christian world is deeply indebted to Professor Williams for this splendid contribution, particularly when it is remembered that he has himself translated eight of the ten hitherto untranslated pieces, and revised the remaining four in some fashion.

Following is an outline of the contents of the volume. After 18 pages of preliminary material, 275 pages are devoted to the section on Spiritual and Anabaptist Writers (19-293) and 103 pages to Evangelical Catholicism (295-397), followed by 24 pages of index (398-421). The Spiritual-Anabaptist section has the following contents: Introduction 19-38; documentary text pp. 39-284; bibliography of original materials available in English translation pp. 285-293 (containing 213 items, of which 26 are by Schwenckfeld). The documentary text contains thirteen pieces, each with a two page introduction containing a descriptive analysis of the nature and purpose of the work and a justification for its inclusion in the volume, and a considerable quantity of footnoting containing historical and philological information, the first long footnote giving extensive biographical material on the author and all available bibliographical information on the provenance and publication of the book or pamphlet from which the piece was taken. The thirteen authors represented, with number of pages of text, are in order: George Blaurock, *Reminiscences,* 6; Thomas Müntzer, *Sermon to the Princes,* 22; Conrad Grebel, *Letter to Thomas Müntzer,* 14; Hans Denck, *Whether God Is the Cause of Evil,* 23; Balthasar Hubmaier, *On Free Will,* 12; Michael Sattler, *Account of His Trial and Martyrdom,* 7; Sebastian Franck, *Letter to John Campanus,* 14; Caspar Schwenckfeld, *An Answer to Luther's Malediction,* 19; Melchior Hofmann, *The Ordinance of God,* 20; Obbe Philips, *A Confession,* 20; Dietrich Philips, *The Church of God,* 33; Menno Simons, *On the Ban,* 9; Ulrich Stadler, *Cherished Instructions,* 11. The distribution of the pieces by type is: Anabaptists, nine—Swiss-South German five, Dutch two, Hutterite one, Hofmann one; revolutionary one (Müntzer); Spiritualists, three —Schwenckfeld, Franck, Obbe Philips. Anabaptist texts total 134 pages, others 66. A listing by dates gives the following conspectus: 1524 (2), 1525, 1526, 1527 (2), 1530, 1531, 1544, 1560 (2), 1550, 1537, not fully chronological.

The principle of selection followed, as stated by the editor, was to furnish "representative works illustrative of the whole range of Anabaptism and Spiritualism, avoiding duplication of the more readily procurable works already translated." On the basis of his avowed principle the

author has done well, with one exception. Pilgram Marpeck (d. 1556), whose total available printed writings exceed 2,000 pages, by far the most prolific and besides Menno Simons and Dirk Philips the most important Anabaptist writer, and probably the best theologian of them all, deserved representation. As to the principle of selection, the limitation to materials not readily procurable and already translated excludes such a representative Hutterite as the important Peter Riedemann and his confession, also the Schleitheim Confession. Such a limitation on other volumes in the Christian Classics series would have prevented using most of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli, to say nothing of many of the Christian Fathers, most of whose writings are readily procurable in English. But the inclusion of these items might have sprung the limits of the volume. In any case the anthologist has the right of selection, and we can only be grateful for every piece that could be included in the volume. Later a larger Anabaptist reader should be made available.

Dr. Williams points out a significant difference between the Continental Anabaptists and the English radical reformation, in that the latter type, including both the Calvinistic Baptists and other parties of the left, "while insisting on the separation of church and state, never abandoned an interest in the state. They were articulately concerned for the strengthening of the state as well as for the purification of the church. Hence they were able to participate directly in the formation of our modern open responsible democracy in a way which was never vouchsafed to the still more heroic and ethically resolute Anabaptists of the 16th century in Germany."

Williams reaches beyond the past to an important statement of the possible contribution of the vision of the Radical Reformation to our own time:

> The problem of God's controversy with his ongoing Israel and the recurrent re-formation of righteous remnants thereof is being raised anew in our time. Our once-packed white-steepled meetinghouses in rural New England and the once-thronged cathedrals in old England are but remnants among the cherished monuments of a Christendom or *corpus christianum* now fragmented by the inexorable forces of modern history. Thus many may be prompted or inspired in perusing the acts and accounts which survive from the heroic period of self-disciplined conventicles and pilgrim fellowships under the headship of Christ, to participate in some neo-radical reformation in the area of ethics and social practice and perhaps also in the area of the theology of history and the theological undergirding of democratic political pluralism. In this way the recovery of some of the ethical impulses of the Radical Reformation may serve to supplement the neo-orthodox repossession of the theological insights of classical Protestantism.

In a careful and succinct survey Willams then traces the progress of scholarship in recovering a correct understanding of Anabaptism in contrast to the perverted picture created by the Reformers which had become the standard traditional stereotype, as well as in distinguishing Spiritualism from Anabaptism. Here he names Cornelius, Keller, Ritschl, Hegler (the first to distinguish Spiritualism), Weber, and Troeltsch, describing also the work of Holl and Böhmer in reaction to Troeltsch, and follows with modern Mennonite scholars, to whom he gives generous recognition as well as to the Mennonite Historical Library at Goshen. His own classification scheme, while leaning on the insights of Troeltsch, represents a

distinct advance, and may well become the standard analysis of the Radical Reformation. This scheme is at the same time the framework for the documents selected for his volume:

I. Spiritualism
   1. Revolutionary—Thomas Müntzer
   2. Rational—Sebastian Franck
   3. Evangelical—Caspar Schwenckfeld
II. Evangelical Anabaptism
   1. Swiss—Conrad Grebel, George Blaurock, Michael Sattler
   2. Hubmaier, link between Swiss and Hutterites
   3. Hutterites—Stadler
   4. Dutch—Menno Simons, Dirk Philips
III. Revolutionary Anabaptism
   1. Melchior Hofmann

The twenty-page introduction which precedes the actual texts is of unusual quality and value, and constitutes the best general descriptive characterization of Anabaptism available today. Instead of giving a historical survey Williams gives a "sketch of the scholarly effort to evaluate and classify the diverse radical groupings of the continental sixteenth century" and justifies their inclusion in the same volume. He considers and rejects the "Left Wing of the Reformation" category of McNeil and Bainton as too much related to political terminology. His choice of "Radical Reformation" to cover the three groupings of Anabaptists, Spiritualists, and Evangelical Rationalists he justifies because although the three differed they all "agreed in cutting back to the root (New Testament, Spirit, Reason) and freeing the church and the creed of what they regarded as the suffocating growth of ecclesiastical tradition and magisterial prerogative." His discrimination between the three groups is most instructive in its insight into the central motivation and concern of each type. The Anabaptists, he says, were marked off from the Spiritualists by two subsidiary impulses: (1) Anabaptists looked to the past, to the Bible and the martyr church of antiquity, while Spiritualists looked to the future, seeking either the invisible church of the spirit or revolutionary relief; (2) Anabaptists organized disciplined communities (faith, witness, discipline, and pacifism), while the Spiritualists were individualistic and quietistic (exception Thomas Müntzer, who had no following). The Evangelical Rationalists were of two types, (1) the institutionalizing Unitarians of Transylvania and Socinians of Poland, and (2) those who stayed inside the Catholic Church. This reviewer finds it confusing to follow Williams in the use of the adjective "Evangelical" to apply to these rationalistic groups of unitarian character, since "evangelical" is commonly used to refer to the opposite of unitarian rationalism. The term "Spiritualist" is also perhaps too easily confused with the modern evokers of spirits. Would "Spiritualizer," as suggested by Franklin Littell, have been better? Williams's attempt to master the divergent group types within the radical Reformation in one all-inclusive scheme of typology is impressive. His major categories are certainly sound; whether all of the fringe categories will finally be accepted remains to be seen.

A few minor points might be noted. Page 44: footnote 10, confuses the date of the first baptism in Zürich, and footnote 11 speaks of Anabaptists "giving prominence to the office of deacon," which is partly true, but "Deacon" is not the proper translation of "Diener" in Anabaptist usage; this term is used to refer to the preacher, who is the "Diener des Worts," i.e., "minister of the word." The statement on page 48 that

"Müntzer had contact with the Anabaptists" cannot be supported by Grebel's letter to Müntzer, since this letter was never delivered to Müntzer; the letter in any case suggests that the "contact" was only on the side of the Grebel group and was primarily through reading several Müntzer pamphlets, not personal contact. The reports of personal contacts between Müntzer and the Swiss Brethren as given by Bullinger have been shown to be unhistorical. On page 215 the statement that "Münster was taken by the Anabaptists in February 1534" cannot mean "captured by force," since the city was "taken" by a regular election. On page 216, footnote 37, Walter Kühler should be Wilhelm.

But these minor points in no way affect the extraordinary value of Williams volume, both in the documents printed and in the introduction and footnote apparatus. We are deeply grateful to him for his volume, which by being included in the Library of Christian Classics will receive a wide circulation and exert a significant influence in the true understanding of Anabaptism.

(Note: A review of the section of the book edited by Mergal will appear in the next issue.)

Goshen College Biblical Seminary HAROLD S. BENDER

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